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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

### SOUTH INDIA ON THE EVE OF AUTONOMY

BY DIWAN BAHADUR A R MUDALIAR  
(Member of the Indian Council)

WHEN the Government of India Act, 1919, was passed in the Statute Book, there were many who entertained misgivings concerning the form of government contemplated and who held that responsible government was alien to the Indian people and would not take root. But subsequent events and further reflection appear to have convinced many among them that for such misgivings there was no solid foundation. Within a few weeks the new Act will come into force in the Provinces, the Legislatures will be composed of members elected on a very much wider franchise, the principle of Cabinet responsibility for the Provincial administrations will have obtained full recognition, in brief, the Provinces will have passed from the stage of "dyarchy" or semi-responsibility to one of complete responsibility.

It will not be inappropriate if at this stage a survey of present conditions, an appraisal of the forces at work and an estimate of future trends, are attempted. As the title of this paper indicates, I propose to confine my attention to an examination of the problems of the Southern Presidency, with whose political life and administration I can claim some acquaintance.

The dyarchic form of government was for a transitional period. There have been many occasions when persons in high authority and responsible positions have stated that the difficult experiment of dyarchic government has been worked with singular success in Madras. It is a matter of common knowledge that more than one Provincial Head of the Government felt in the course of his

administration and recommended that Madras should have further constitutional advance. When, in 1925, I had the opportunity of discussing the question with Lord Birkenhead, I pleaded that, in view of the record of this Province, full responsible government should be introduced by a transference of the remaining subjects to the control of Ministers. His Lordship's reply was characteristic the question of responsible government in the Provinces had been examined by constitutional lawyers with whose opinion he, as one of the foremost constitutional lawyers, was in accord. An advance of the kind suggested should be simultaneous in all the Provinces. The Earl of Birkenhead added that if it would console me and the party I then represented, he would make a special reference to the good record of Madras in a speech he was about to deliver in the House of Lords, a promise which was fulfilled in July of that year. Events that have occurred since 1925, under the régime of Lord Goschen and his successors, have, as they will testify, only emphasized this good record of work and shown that the people of Madras are equally alive to their rights and responsibilities.

#### FINANCES OF MADRAS

The inauguration of the new Constitution in April of this year will be but the fulfilment of hopes and aspirations which have long been justly entertained. But however eagerly constitutional changes may be desired, the new administration must necessarily take stock of the existing position and properly evaluate the heritage to which they are succeeding. What, then, is the position of Madras? The foremost question that must engage our attention is the budgetary situation of the Province. Madras has had a series of Finance Members whose cautious and careful handling of its resources has steered it clear of financial shoals. They have tried to maintain budgetary equilibrium, sometimes under exceptionally difficult conditions, they will hand over to the new administration a substantial surplus. What may be termed the unproductive or dead weight debt has been reduced to the minimum and they have thereby hastened the day when Madras will be in a position to raise internal loans independent of any control from the central authority.

Their task has not been an easy one, particularly during the last quinquennium, when the economic blizzard brought special disaster to a purely agricultural Province like Madras. The main heads of provincial revenue are land revenue and excise. In the year 1934-35, land revenue amounted to Rs 715 lakhs, as against Rs 693 lakhs in the previous year, while excise accounted for Rs. 423 lakhs, against Rs 428 lakhs. The fall in the price of primary commodities necessitated the grant of certain remissions, but the firm policy of the Government sustained the collection at the high level indicated by these figures. It may also be acknowledged that the Legislature refused to be stampeded by extreme forms of agitation outside the Council by interested parties for wholesale remissions. So far as budgetary finance is concerned, the Province promises to start under favourable auspices.

#### AGRARIAN OUTLOOK

From an analysis of the financial position we may turn to consider the agrarian question. The agriculturist in Madras is either a *ryotwari* tenant under the Government or a tenant under a *zamindar* or *imamdar*. I have referred to the acute distress that prevailed in the Province during the depression. There are indications in Madras, as elsewhere, that this period is slowly coming to an end. There is a marked recovery in the price of primary commodities, with, however, one notable and extremely important exception—rice. This exception must continue to be a matter of grave concern, as rice forms by far the largest crop in the Province.

The relations of landlord and tenant have considerably improved owing to the enactment of several legislative measures. It may be recalled that the early years of the dyarchic period were marred by one of the greatest tragedies of recent times—the Moplah rebellion in Malabar. Among other factors that contributed to this unhappy episode was the agrarian discontent that prevailed in the district. Since then the Malabar Tenancy Act has gone a considerable way towards promoting harmony and ensuring settled conditions in that district. The amendments to the Estates Land Act mark further steps in the same direction in



regard to permanently settled estates in other parts of the Presidency. It is noteworthy that these highly controversial measures were initiated in the Legislature by private members, but the thanks of the Province are equally due to the Revenue Members, whose understanding of the problem and its intricacies helped the Legislature to give practical shape to its sympathy for the tenantry.

It is unnecessary to survey in any detail the progress that has been made in the administration of various other departments or the further legislative measures that have been enacted. Facilities for irrigation have expanded, and one of the largest irrigation projects in the world, the Metur project, is now in operation. One of the most notable advances in the Province is the erection for the first time of hydro-electric works and the supply of electricity by Government to rural and urban areas for domestic and industrial purposes.

#### EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The activities on the transferred side of the Government may be very shortly mentioned, as they have been the subject of electoral appraisal. The spread of elementary education and the extension of medical relief have been two of the most important branches of ministerial activity. There has been some criticism regarding the wastage that occurs in elementary schools, and since the days of the Hartog Committee report, suggestions have not been wanting to prevent this wastage. In a recent letter to *The Times* a correspondent suggested that the recommendations of Directors of Public Instruction have been ignored by Ministers. While this may not refer to Madras, it cannot be denied that difficulties of a formidable character present themselves to anyone who desires to attack the problem in a thorough manner. The existence of denominational schools under the control of various religious persuasions is not the least of the difficulties to be encountered in this connection. A recent Order of the Government of Madras has attempted to solve the problem by adopting a bold policy of refusing aid or grants to inefficient schools, of improving the condition of teachers of elementary schools and increasing the inspectorate.

#### OTHER DEPARTMENTS

The creation of a separate health staff in each district has resulted in a more efficient control of epidemics which break out from time to time in the Presidency. And the policy of taking over control of district hospitals by the Government and of giving grants to rural medical institutions has helped to spread facilities for medical relief. The activities of the co-operative department have been extended and the establishment of land mortgage banks, together with the increased guarantee by the Government of their debenture stocks, has enabled them to make a beginning in the direction of relieving rural indebtedness.

The problems relating to local self governing institutions have not always been easy of solution, the claim for local independence often takes the form of an assertion of freedom from all restraint, however necessary and wholesome it may be in the general interest. While it may be true that local bodies are the nurseries for democratic training it must also be realized that the fierce glare of publicity so essential for the proper working of democracy may be sometimes absent. It is a moot question whether the form of self-government that obtains in Great Britain or the system of prefectures under the control of the central Government which prevails in France is most suitable for India. A half-way house has, however, now been reached by suitable legislation which the Ministry and the Legislature have had the courage to undertake and enact, whereby through executive officers appointed by the Government, and in other ways, local bodies are brought under greater control of the Provincial Government.

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

No account of the administration will be complete without a reference to the reform of the depressed classes, which have not escaped the attention of even the most superficial students of Indian sociology. In fact, in some cases this problem has received an emphasis which not even its gravity warrants. Nowhere has the problem of the depressed classes been graver or more acute than in the southern Presidency, and it will be particularly inter-

esting to note the attempts that have been made to mitigate their social and economic disabilities. The amelioration of the depressed classes has largely consisted in the acquisition of sites for housing them, the provision of special facilities for education, the assignment or lease of land for cultivation, and extension of sanitary amenities. It is estimated that a total area of 730,000 acres of land has been reserved for assignment in several districts of the Presidency, of this total area, over 400,000 acres had been granted by March 31, 1935. The educational advancement of these classes has been fostered by the grant of stipends and scholarships and the opening of special schools, but the Government have for many years fought steadily for the recognition of the right of admission of members of the depressed classes in all public schools. It is a matter for some satisfaction to note that the Government are now in a position to insist that all publicly managed schools should admit these classes and that privately managed schools which shut their doors to the depressed classes should be deprived of the grant in aid. Legislation has also been undertaken to give right of access to these classes to all public highways and other places. These measures are an indication not indeed of the extent to which depressed classes deserve help, but only of the awareness of the existing Legislature of its responsibility to these classes.

#### “SENSIBLE POLITICS”

From an appraisal of the immediate past, we may turn to a consideration of the near future. The preceding survey will have given an indication of the unostentatious yet tangible progress that has been achieved during the last decade. That this result has been due mainly to the spirit of constitutionalism will admit of no doubt. There have been no violent fluctuations of public opinion in the Province, and no serious attempt at wrecking the Constitution or sacrificing the needs of the people for spectacular displays. Whatever the fortunes of the ballot-box, whichever party has commanded a majority in the Legislature, the desire to work the Constitution and to extract the best out of it has manifested itself. His Excellency Lord Erskine, in his last address to the Madras Legislative Council, remarked

"Madras has indeed given a lead to the rest of India in the matter of working democratic institutions and has gained a great and deserved reputation by its consistent pursuit of sane and sensible politics

This fundamental characteristic of Madras should not be lost sight of when occasionally there is temporary excitement. The plethora of speeches on the eve of a general election is not the best indication of the real trend of public opinion. Extravagant promises and militant language are only indications of the intensity of desire to get a place in the constitutional edifice and should not be taken as signs of an inveterate determination to indulge in destructive tactics. Whatever may be the result of the elections now proceeding, one may reasonably entertain the hope and join in the confidence which Lord Erskine feels "that moderation and prudence will continue to prevail in the Presidency and that the conduct of future governments and legislatures will be such as to ensure an ordered progress in our affairs to the great advantage of the whole population."

Having regard to the spirit of constitutionalism on the foundation of which the political life of the Province is based, it would not be unreasonable to hazard the guess that revolutionary methods of solving social and economic problems will not be adopted.

It has not been the contention of responsible public men that the inauguration of provincial autonomy will effect sudden changes, bring about an immediate accession of wealth and ensure freedom from taxation to many members of the community. On the other hand, it has been recognized that self government may imply an increase in burdens and obligations if social services are to be expanded and amenities guaranteed to the less fortunate section. Nor can it be suggested that the change to be brought about by the new Constitution will be one of personnel and that the even tenor of life will continue unchanged. The responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature, and through the Legislature to a wide electorate, will alter the emphasis on certain phases of the administration and bring about a more concentrated attention on aspects of administration which have so far been in the penumbra. Indications of such change are forthcoming in the programme of village

reconstruction, in the greater attention paid to the economic position of the agriculturist and his indebtedness, and above all in the concern felt for the social even more than the economic position of the depressed classes

### THE AGRICULTURIST

While it may be true that urban interests have predominated in the Councils of the past, it may be presumed that in future the presence of members representing rural interests will help to focus the attention of the Legislature and Executive on rural problems. After all, the agriculturist forms the backbone of the Presidency. His welfare will be the main concern of the administrator. The wealth of the Province consists essentially in agricultural raw products. With the most intense desire to foster industries one cannot lose sight of the vital interests of the peasant. The precipitous fall in the price of commodities has shaken the complacency of legislators and the shock has not escaped the Finance Department.

While the gradual rise in prices during recent months has eased the situation, the agriculturist finds himself suddenly confronted with problems of which he was utterly unaware in the past. The barriers erected against the free flow of goods from one country to another and the policy of self-sufficiency followed by many countries has had repercussions which he has begun to feel. His export markets have contracted without a corresponding expansion of the internal market. He is unable to estimate the exact effect of the policy of Protection which India is pursuing on the export markets with which he is concerned. But he has a growing apprehension that his interests are being sacrificed. These problems, some of them of more than provincial significance, will require sagacious statesmanship for a satisfactory solution.

### HINDU POLITY AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

The attempts made to improve the position of the depressed classes have been detailed, but it is evident that so far only the fringe of the problem has been touched. The entry into the new

Legislature for the first time, in their own right, of thirty representatives of these classes elected primarily by members of their community will necessarily have far reaching effects. Social advance and political status are closely inter-connected. Among the most significant of the changes that have been brought about by the new Constitution is the political status granted to the members of this community for the first time. Their economic improvement will now proceed by geometric progression if they realise that with unity among themselves they can be a powerful factor in the making and unmaking of Cabinets.

But even more important than the question of economic advance is the extremely thorny problem of their social status in the Hindu fold, and here we are faced with what may prove the most difficult problem for the legislators and administrators of the future. It is not merely the social status of the depressed classes that will cause concern, for behind the façade of the position of the depressed classes are found various phases of Hindu life which will constantly come up before the Legislature and demand its attention. Those who have followed the trend of events of Hindu polity in the Presidency must be aware of the dark rumblings and the unrest in the community. The position of women with regard to the laws of marriage and inheritance, the unevenness of the texture of the whole community and the social status of the Untouchables have presented problems the solution of which cannot long be delayed.

The inter-connection, sometimes real, sometimes imaginary, of these problems with Hindu religion, or what is claimed to be Hindu religion, is the vital factor which makes solution extraordinarily difficult. This intricacy must counsel caution, but can not justify quiescence. The cry "Religion in danger" cannot perpetually be raised and society cannot be allowed to stagnate merely because unreasonable religious susceptibles demand careful nursing. To find a golden mean between the two extremes, to avoid impinging on religion proper on the one hand and to permit social reorganization in keeping with the spirit of the times will be the task of competent and level-headed legislators of the future.

## LEADERSHIP

I have tried to survey the immediate past and to make a brief estimate of the tendencies of the future. No survey of the past would be just or adequate without a reference to that great statesman who played so important a part in the shaping of political forces in the Province in the early years of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. There have been two individuals at least during the dyarchic period whose claims to statesmanship are beyond the pale of controversy—the Raja of Panagal in the southern Presidency and Sir Fazlı Hussain in the Punjab. Sir Fazlı had fortunately opportunities of bringing his powerful and towering personality to bear on problems affecting the whole of India, and the tributes paid to him recently are only a meagre recognition of his invaluable contribution to Indian public life and political thought. It was not given to the Raja of Panagal to play the part for which he was eminently fitted in a vaster arena than that of his own Province. But those who knew him and came under the charm of his personality knew that, with extreme democratic outlook and tendencies, he combined in himself the firmness and grim determination of a modern dictator.

Who can deny in the face of world conditions today that modern democracies require leaders who will not merely interpret public opinion, but who will also shape and formulate it, that the emphasis in a leader's capacity is gradually changing from his characteristic as a representative to his characteristic as a moulder of popular feeling and opinion? If the world is to be made safe for democracy it is this type of leadership that is required. Is it too much to hope that in the Province of Madras, with the traditions that the Raja of Panagal has helped to establish, men will be forthcoming who by their character and courage will continue the glorious tradition of a Panagal or a Fazlı Hussain and enable Madras to maintain, despite its cognomen of "benighted Presidency," its front place among the Provinces of India?

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W 1, on Tuesday, January 19, 1937, when a paper entitled *South India on the Eve of Autonomy* was read by Diwan Bahadur (now Sir) *Ramaswami Mudaliar* (Member of the India Council) The Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, GCSI, GCIE, CBE, was in the Chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen amongst others, were present

Lieut.-Colonel the Right Hon Sir George Stanley, GCSI, GCIE CMG Sir Louis Dane GCIE CSI Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, OM GCB GCSI, KCMG, DSO Sir Alfred Chatterton CIE, Sir Abdul Qadir Sir Reginald Glancy, KCSI KCIE Sir Elliot G Colvin, KCSI Sir Ross Barker, KCIE, CB, the Right Hon Sir John Wallis Sir Hopetoun Stokes, KCIE CSI Sir Arnold Musto CIE Sir Charles Cunningham, CIE, and Lady Cunningham, Sir Gilbert Jackson Mr S K Brown CB CVO Dr P E Piets, CMG, Mr T V A Ivaran, Mr Stanley Rice Mr F J P Richter, Mr S C Banerji, Mr S K Mukherjee, Mrs B D Berry Mrs Percy Brown, Miss Leatherdale, Mrs Dewar, Mr S P Sen Mr W F J Frank Professor G H Langley, Mr E Coleman Mr H K Sadler, Mr A B Goswami Colonel A G Hamilton Mr M Lal, Mr Hewart Reynold Mr A Muthuswamy, Mr S Ganesan Mrs L M Saunders Mr F J Bradshaw, Dr and Mrs Ernest Muir Mr P C Mathew, Mr N Subramanian, and Mr F H Brown CIE Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN Today we are going to have the pleasure of an address from Diwan Bahadur A R Mudaliar It is a great pleasure for me to take the Chair for him, as he is an old friend of my time in Madras He is going to speak to us on *South India on the Eve of Autonomy* I think you will agree with me that he has chosen a most interesting subject and a very opportune moment to give us an address upon it, as the elections are now taking place for the new members under the new Constitution.

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has had great experience in Madras in politics, but he will speak to us today from the detached point of view of a member of the Secretary of State's Council and not from the midst of the somewhat excited political arena I think that that fact will add to the authority and weight of his remarks

DIWAN BAHADUR A R MUDALIAR I recall an occasion nearly seventeen years ago in the year 1919, when I had the opportunity of enjoying the hospitality of the East India Association and of addressing a gathering similar to this on the eve of the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms There were two other gentlemen from Madras on the same platform with me one the late Raja of Panagal, who afterwards became the chief Minister of the Madras Government, the other my friend, Sir Kurma Reddi, who recently acted as the Governor of Madras. It struck



me as rather a curious coincidence, for which I cannot account, that now, when the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms is passing away and we are going to have the inauguration of a new scheme of reforms, the East India Association through its Honorary Secretary should have got hold of me again and asked me to read a paper on *South India on the Eve of Autonomy* \*

The pleasure that I feel at being present here this afternoon and putting forward a few ideas on the subject is enhanced by the fact that the Chairman is one who has an intimate knowledge of the conditions in the Madras Presidency I am fortunate too in having in this enlightened assembly another distinguished administrator, who immediately succeeded Lord Goschen I refer to Sir George Stanley I am also happy to see a number of officers of the services of the Madras Presidency present here Their continued interest in Madras bespeaks the fact that, after all is said and done, Madras has got some little charm for those who have been privileged to serve in that Province (Applause)

(The paper was then read)

The CHAIRMAN I am sure that we have all listened with very great pleasure to the interesting address which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has just delivered To some of us it was especially interesting that in the first part of his address he referred to problems which confronted many of us when we were out in Madras Some of them we had begun to deal with when we were there, and I think with all of them we were intimately connected To me personally he recalled many happy mornings spent in discussions with Members of Council, with Ministers and with prominent officials

May I at once say that I am in accord with the tenor of the remarks which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has delivered I think you will agree with me that his address has shown a clarity of mind a sanity of judgment, and a breadth of vision I share the views which he expressed in the beginning of his address I think that all those of us who were called upon to administer the form of government called dyarchy recognized that it was only a transitional one, with the defects which such a form of government must carry with it We felt that instead of leading to responsibility, it was tending towards irresponsibility or what the lecturer more generously called semi-responsibility But, as he said, dyarchy will soon have passed away, and the principle of Cabinet responsibility will have been recognized.

It may perhaps be interesting, in passing to note that Madras was, I believe, the first Province to recognize joint ministerial responsibility I think that that will prove a valuable experience in working the new and coming Constitution Certainly this custom led to the smoother working of the reforms and was of great benefit to the Government itself

Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has referred to what he has been pleased to call the good record of Madras in working the reforms. I think that one of the contributory causes of this (with which I am sure those who have worked in Madras will agree) was the loyalty of the Ministers I should like to bear testimony to the loyalty which they showed to the Government, and to the care and diligence which they gave to the working of their several Depart-

ments. If I may, I would like to associate myself with Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar in the remarks which he made about my friend the Raja of Panagal, who was the first Minister when I arrived in Madras.

But I think it should not be forgotten that the initial cause of the good record of Madras was the fact that when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in Madras, Lord Willingdon formed his first Government from the Justice party—a non-Brahmin party with a Brahmin party in opposition. Thereby there was started in Madras a more or less united Government party and a more or less united Opposition, instead of the Legislative Council being composed of a great number of entities without any cohesion between them. This undoubtedly encouraged a Parliamentary spirit.

I am very glad to learn from what Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar said, that the Government of Madras will hand over a surplus to the new administration. This is most satisfactory and the Finance Members deserve very great credit for it. During the discussions in the Houses of Parliament and elsewhere over the new Constitution, one of the greatest anxieties connected with it was the subject of finance.

Depending, as Madras does, mainly upon agriculture, it was good to hear from Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar that he thought that the Province was slowly recovering from the state of agricultural depression. I am sure he will agree with me that there is room for improvement in the methods of agriculture. Agriculturists all the world over are conservative people but the interest which the Viceroy is taking in agriculture should be a great encouragement to the agriculturists and to all those who are doing their best to aid them. I was especially interested to hear that the Pikhara scheme and the Metur project were succeeding, and conferring a benefit on the agriculturists, as both of these were started when I was in Madras.

I suppose, as Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has said, there is no part of India in which the question of the Depressed Classes was and is, so acute as in Madras, and I am sure we are all interested in hearing from him what is being done for them. As he said, politically they will now have enlarged opportunities for pleading their cause, but, as he pointed out, their political status and social advance is very closely connected and is a thorny problem. But I am sure that if the leaders of opinion will approach that subject in the spirit which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar did in his address—a spirit of charity and reasonableness—the outlook of this great problem will be a hopeful one.

Now I will say one word on what I thought was one of the most important parts of the address, and that was in the Diwan Bahadur's reference to leadership. I spoke just now of the formation of the first Government in Madras and the Opposition. The division then, of course, was one of caste, and no doubt, as I ventured to say, in its initial stages it was of considerable advantage. But as time went on it served its purpose, and personally I always endeavoured to urge upon the Ministers a substitution for such a form of government—namely, that the Government must have a clear and definite political programme, a programme which would unite the party, a programme which would be intelligible to the constituents, to the electors, and which the members or candidates would be able to put before the

electors instead of concerning themselves, as so often was done, with only local affairs and local subjects.

This stage may be, and probably has been, reached now, but I feel that this is a moment when it is more important than ever that parties should have a political programme, because undoubtedly the Congress party not only have a political programme, but they are beginning to realize that they must appeal not only to an urban population, but to the mass of the population, and therefore to the villages and to the agricultural population and they are willing to lop off a bit here or a bit there if they can devise a programme which will make such an appeal successful.

Therefore, of course, it is necessary to find a counter-appeal. As Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has said, that of necessity implies leadership. You will understand that I am speaking generally and not referring to any individuals. What is required is a leader with the ability to formulate such a programme, with the enthusiasm to be able to carry it out, and with the influence and popularity to be able to unite a party upon it. That seems to me to be essential now and in the future. I agree with Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar—and I am optimistic about it—that Madras can find such leaders, and I also believe that the people of Madras will be able to carry out the new Constitution in the same spirit in which they worked the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. (Applause.)

SIR HOPKINSON STOKES. I should like to join with the Chairman in expressing my appreciation of the most interesting paper which Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has read to us. As one who for a number of years has been among the most prominent public men of the Province of Madras, he is specially fitted to speak to us on its affairs.

He told us in the beginning of his address that he would attempt a survey of present conditions, an appraisal of the forces at work, and an estimate of future trends. Well, he has done all those three things. My only criticism of his paper would be that the estimate of future trends was rather in unduly general terms. What I mean is that he refrained, like the wary politician that he is, from anything in the nature of prophecy.

Part of his address dealt with the Madras finances, and he has said that the Finance Members have had an extremely difficult time. As I was the unfortunate person who controlled the finance of Sir George Stanley's Government from 1930 to 1935 I can entirely endorse his remarks on that point. It was a most unpleasant and thankless business, but it was absolutely necessary, and I rather suspect that, for a time at any rate, I was one of the most unpopular persons in the Province. The axe had to be freely used, and various heads of Departments were always regarding me as the nigger in the woodpile.

It was the policy of Sir George Stanley's Government from the very outset so to administer the affairs of the Province, first of all, as to do what we considered our duty financially so as to achieve solvency, having regard to the great embarrassments of the Central Government at that time, but also with reference to the autonomy which we saw coming and which we believed would come very much more quickly than it actually has done.

We proceeded to cut down the revenue and the expenditure drastically, made economies in salaries and allowances and all sorts of things in all directions. The result was that in about a year we retrenched about two crores on the budget. From Rs. 18 crores we got it down to Rs. 16 crores or under. Then, coming to capital expenditure, it was fortunate that my predecessor had accumulated a considerable reserve, and from this we were able to find sufficient funds for big capital schemes, and to restrict—although not entirely to obviate—the necessity for borrowing.

One big scheme with which our Chairman is familiar was the Mettur scheme, the construction of what is now properly called the Stanley Reservoir was completed at a cost of about £5½ million sterling in 1934. Then we were able to complete a great hydro-electric scheme, the Pykara, which Lord Goschen started. The initial stages of that were completed about the same time, 1934, at a cost of about one million sterling. Just before I left Madras in March, 1935, we sanctioned payments for further developments in hydro-electric schemes for the transfer of power from the Mettur dam itself, which, speaking from memory, were going to cost about another £1½ million. It is interesting to note that the Stanley Reservoir proved its value in the very first season after it was got into working order. It enabled the crops under its area to be grown in time, which would otherwise have suffered from the delayed and inadequate monsoon. The hydro-electric schemes have, I believe, more than justified the expectations formed of them at their inception.

That was all financed partly from our reserves and partly by borrowing. At the end of the financial year when I left Madras in March, 1935, the debt of the Province was just about equal to a single year's revenue—i.e., about Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 crores. Practically the whole of this is productive expenditure, and is calculated to bring a return on the money invested, about 4 per cent. to 6 per cent. A little more than half of the debt is consolidated—that is to say, it is not redeemable. The unproductive loans were paid off, I think, almost entirely, partly by my predecessor, partly by myself.

Another big scheme which Madras was able in the course of the last seven or eight years to assist in bringing to fruition was the Cochin Harbour. That is a very fine scheme. It was financed in its earlier stages, up to one-third of the cost, by Madras, which altogether sank about Rs. 35 or Rs. 40 lakhs in it. It is a scheme which, if properly administered, will render Cochin one of the finest harbours in India. The natural advantages of the Cochin Harbour are unrivalled. Now it has been taken over by the Central Government, and Madras has been repaid the money which it spent, which is an admirable solution for Madras.

With a debt position such as I have indicated and a revenue budget which balances, I think it may be said that the policy of Sir George Stanley's Government, and that I believe also of his successor, Lord Erskine, will have succeeded in starting the ship of State on an even keel when it weighs anchor next April on its first voyage into uncharted seas.

But what will happen then? Will the autonomous Government, like a youthful landholder who takes over his estate after a long minority, proceed to squander the resources of the Province on mere vote-catching policies?

Or will they have the firmness to insist on less showy schemes, and on finding, by additional taxation if necessary, the wherewithal to carry them out?

There is no doubt that the basis of taxation must be widened and additional revenue must be found if the pressing needs of the Province in respect of education, medical aid, public health, and all the other big heads of expenditure are to be satisfied. Unfortunately nothing is more anathema to the Madras taxpayer or the man in the street than the idea of increased taxation, and I am afraid there is a danger that, in order to avoid the odium of taxation, Ministers may attempt unwise economies. Already, for example, the Congress majority in the Madras Corporation has voted very questionable reductions in the pay of important posts, such as the municipal engineer and health officer, and so on. Or Ministers may be tempted to take the flowery path of unproductive borrowing. These are possibilities to which one cannot close one's eyes, and I am afraid that past experience in the Legislative Council does not wholly rebut such anticipations.

I do not think Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar was quite correct in saying that the Legislature refused to be stampeded into voting for wholesale remissions. I have a painful recollection that, although they did not go as far as certain interests would have liked, they did repeatedly pass resolutions, notwithstanding the earnest representations of the Government, for a degree of remission which would have gone far to cripple the Government's activities altogether. However, one may hope that resolutions of this sort have been the result of the imperfect responsibility to which the Chairman and the lecturer have referred, and which was a bad feature of the dyarchical system.

I well remember how, after one of the resolutions I have mentioned, the Government had been defeated, and one of the members, a prominent member of the Opposition, came across to me and said: "If they knew that their resolution would take effect, they would not have passed it!" In other words, the resolution was, by many of the members, intended as a vote-catching gesture only. One may hope that under the new Constitution such gestures will not be resorted to, and one may expect that they will be brought to the touchstone of responsibility. In this I see one of the main and most effective safeguards for the working of the new Constitution.

There is only one other point I would refer to in the address, which covers a very wide ground, and that is local self-government. Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar has referred to local self-government and has suggested that perhaps the new Government will do better. I think it was the predecessor of your Chairman who was responsible for passing in 1920 or thereabouts an Act of Local Self-Government, one of the objects of which was 'to eliminate the official taint.' I am afraid the results have not been altogether satisfactory, if one may judge from the annual reviews of the working of municipalities and local bodies which have emanated from the Government.

But the point which is interesting and hopeful about that is that these results have at long last given an impetus to a sincere desire on the part of the general public for improved administration, and this feeling has emboldened Ministers to introduce and pass recently measures for the more

efficient executive control to which the lecturer has alluded. I think it is a very hopeful sign that this change has been based on a popular desire in very large measure. In fact, at one time voices were not wanting to declare that the return to the old official control by the collector was desirable. That again, I think, is an interesting and encouraging feature which has manifested itself. (Applause.)

SIR GILBERT JACKSON I have risen more by force of habit than by volition to answer the command of the Chairman under whom, as Governor of Madras, I served so long. From my own point of view it is with very great hesitation that I arise in this assembly. Of course, we retired Anglo-Indians usually have the advantage of *omne ignotum pro magifico* when we rise in an English assembly. A speaker who says I know my India is taken at his own valuation, but it is no good my attempting any such bluff here because you all know exactly what the limits of my knowledge are.

Even in a more credulous body I do not know whether I should be inclined to say much, because, although for thirty-five years I had an enormous respect for the opinion of the man on the spot, and also, I may say, an even greater respect for the man who had never been on the spot, who had spent his time in assemblies where he could get larger vision and broader principle. I have never had any respect myself for the opinion of the man on the spot now off the spot.

I think any young Indians who heard me give an opinion on this subject would say my present condition is like the nature of the Lucretian gods

*Semota a nostris rebus secretaque longe  
Nec bene pro meritis capitur nec tangitur ira,*

which, unnecessary though a translation is in this assembly, one might render. Tucked away in retirement far from our affairs, it is neither captivated by the worthy nor infuriated by the wasters.

It would be absurd for me in that state to pretend that I have anything really useful to say. I think all I can do here is to testify my faith, like people sometimes do in Salvation Army meetings. While the debates were going on with regard to the Indian reforms, I did the same on every possible occasion, because I felt that that was all I could do and what I should do.

I can testify my faith in the people of Southern India because, looking back on my career the other day, it struck me as a most remarkable thing that I cannot remember ever to have been let down, badly let down, by a subordinate Indian, nor ever to have been badly let down by those gentlemen who had no duty to be loyal to me, the vakils who practised in my court.

I was put in charge of a division when I knew nothing. I was put in charge of a court when I could have written my knowledge of Hindu law on a two-anna bit, but though I was like a hermit crab without my shell, no one took advantage of me. My subordinate clerks might have let me down badly, and the members of the law might have stuck me with any law which came into their heads. They were all perfectly loyal, and when I met

Indians no longer as subordinates but as colleagues on the Bench of the High Court, I can only testify to my admiration at their single-minded devotion to duty and the very high intellectual standard set by my brother Indian judges (Applause) With that experience, gentlemen, I testify to my faith in the coming reforms (Applause)

DIWAN BAHADUR MUDALIAR The Chairman has asked me to reply I do not know what I have exactly to reply to The speakers who have spoken on my paper have paid me a compliment which I feel all too undeserved I have only tried to look at the problems frankly from the point of view of one who was an agitator for twenty years sitting in opposition in the Legislature, but still able and willing to put myself in the position of one who appreciates the difficulties of the administrator I think one who has been in opposition can best testify to the fact that what has been said by an opposition member is not always all that he feels That is so not only in Madras, but all the world over

On the whole, speaking purely of conditions in Madras I know that whatever the necessities of electoral campaigns may be—and the necessity for vote-catching is just as important in Madras as anywhere else—there is the feeling that sobriety is required for real advance in the Provinces It is that I am banking on

I have not ventured on a prophecy of the near future but if I were asked to say what would happen, I am prepared to recognize that under certain eventualities for a few months perhaps for the first year or two there may be a tendency for zeal to outrun discretion, for certain changes to be attempted to be brought about which are not entirely in the best interests of the Province

But again I am counting on what is more than possibility that the common sense of the people of the Madras Presidency as a whole will come to the relief of public administration and that for no length of time will wasteful methods of expenditure or improper methods of administration be supported or tolerated I am fortified in this hope by the history of local self-government to which reference has been made

It was in the year 1920 in the administration of Lord Willingdon on the eve of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and in the light of what Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had written in their Report about self governing institutions that the first steps were taken to democratize these institutions The work went on for some years and when people found that it led to certain abuses the awakening came Pressure was brought to bear on the Legislature and Ministries initiated legislation so that the question of restoring some measure of control to Government over these local bodies became almost a non-contentious reform when the recent amending Act was passed

In one of my speeches in the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey, I remember to have remarked A great many people are suggesting safeguards They may be justified they may not be justified, but when I examine my own position I feel that I am the person who requires most safeguards, because I

am going to live under that administration I am going to be at the mercy of Ministries constituted under the new Constitution I am going to be a sufferer not for a few years, but to risk my whole life and interests under the new administration

I think that is the feeling that will come on the people when these new administrations are being tried, and the fact that they will have to live under the new administration will be the most efficient safeguard against maladministration or bad expenditure

That is the hope that Lord Erskine has expressed, and whatever may be the future, one may feel fairly certain that barring a few spectacular demonstrations at the start if such indeed should happen South India will generally speaking live under a fairly placid regime and progress will continue At any rate that is my great hope (Applause)

SIR GEORGE STANLEY I have been asked and it is a great honour to me to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman for presiding and to Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar for the most interesting address that he has given us

But before I proceed to that point I should like to say one or two words about the remarks of Sir Hopetoun Stokes on the financial position of Madras It is perfectly right in one respect that for some time he was the most unpopular man in Madras He absolutely refused to be lenient when it was found necessary to make economies and cuts in salaries (most unpleasant we had to cut our own) but he stuck it out with the result that the finances of Madras were put in a very sound position as they have remained to this day We also had an amusing speech from Sir Gilbert Jackson

It was most kind of Lord Goschen to come here today because he was able to give us a great deal of information from his vast knowledge of affairs in Madras When I succeeded him I found everything in the most admirable order, and it was much less trouble to me than it was I am sure to my successor when he succeeded me He left behind him an abiding sense of affection among the people and of respect for the way he had handled the affairs of the Province during his five years tenure

As to Diwan Bahadur Mudaliar, his address shows you what he is It shows you what he knows about the affairs of Madras and who should know them better than he? He and I have not always agreed in fact, there were occasions when we disagreed almost violently but we respected each other's opinions He has done his best for the Province of Madras and with his vast knowledge of political work he will do his best for that Province in the future

There was one danger in Madras during the last few years to which he did not refer, and that is that there was not that welding into parties that one would like to see Congress certainly had welded a party and presented what might be called a united front Unfortunately there were troubles in the Justice party to which I referred in several speeches in Madras, and there was a tendency to split up into groups If anyone was dissatisfied, he would say Very well, I will leave the party and take fifteen votes



away' Unless you can have a two-party system in a Province I believe there is bound to be trouble of this kind. The great object for the future of India will be to find some leader who will take the place of the Raja of Panagal. If they have not found him already, he must come forward in the future and weld that second party together which will form an effective administrative body or an effective Opposition. I will only ask you to give a most hearty vote of thanks to our Chairman and to our lecturer for his most interesting address.

*The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation*

## MYSORE TODAY

By H D RICE

(Deputy Trade Commissioner for Mysore)

I ACCEPTED with great pleasure the honour of describing to the Association a film of ' Picturesque Mysore,' for I have a family connection with the State going back a hundred years. I believe that of all living Englishmen I can claim the longest association with Mysore—that is, the longest period of service under the Government. I started work in 1895, so that I have been connected with Mysore for nearly forty two years.

I will give a brief picture of the State as it is today and a general outline of the more important industrial activities. A Mysore Supplement of the *Madras Mail* appeared at the end of October, and, as it is the latest authoritative account of existing conditions, I shall quote freely from it.

Mysore is the same size as Scotland, with a population now approaching seven millions. It is one of the most ancient States, having cradled many historic dynasties of South India. These speak to us through glorious architectural remains and through coins and inscriptions. Mysore up to a century and a half ago was the scene of frequent warfare in which, in the eighteenth century, British arms were engaged. Today it is, as it has been for over a hundred years, the scene of peaceful and orderly administration. Twentieth-century Mysore is a pioneer in hydro-electrical enterprise, in industrial development, in the improvement of agriculture, and in many other ways wherein the benefits of an enlightened administration are seen.

The *Madras Mail* asks what visitants from the end of the eighteenth century would find now. No doubt essentially they would find it the same land they loved and fought for, with beauties which for variety and excellence are perhaps unequalled in any corresponding area of the Indian sub-continent. But they could not move far without noticing evidence of great change. They

would find waterfalls harnessed to spread a new power to a thousand villages. They would find everywhere engineers and agricultural experts patiently engaged in converting the old tillage to profitable uses through precept and example. They would find vast iron and steel works, village schools, village dispensaries engaged in bestowing upon the humblest Mysorean opportunities to become a healthy, intelligent, and useful citizen, and they would see the combination of popular and personal government which had made such opportunities available. It is now forty years since the accession of the present beloved Maharaja, and the progress made in that time is the admiration of all.

With the coming of Federation, Mysore will soon turn to a new chapter in her history, and, given the continuance of peace and the growth of prosperity, the ambitions of Mysore's present administrators should be realized. Some, indeed, have been fulfilled, others are in the process of fulfilment, others cannot yet be fulfilled. But with the same strong tradition continuing and handed down to their successors this model Indian State may be freed from the poverty and illiteracy of her people, and be steadily progressive, yet with an enviable conservatism of outlook towards everything that is worth preserving.

The vast majority of the peoples of Mysore, as of India in general, make their living from agriculture. The State is, however, richly endowed with a wealth of natural resources and blessed with a progressive administration seeking the well being of the masses. It is only possible in this paper to touch upon the principal industrial activities which have made rapid strides in recent years.

I will refer first to the sandalwood oil industry, since it provides one of the principal activities of the Mysore office in London. Mysore is the home of the *Santalum album* tree, from which the oil is distilled. This essence is used in all the highest varieties of perfumes and soaps in all countries of both hemispheres. The Trade Commissioner for Mysore in London controls the sales in Europe and North and South America.

The history of the Government soap factory is a commercial romance. Started on a small scale the factory has now grown to

large proportions, and is a steady profit maker. Mysore sandal soap is to be found in almost every household in India, and has received recognition at all the important industrial exhibitions in India.

Progress is now being made with the Mysore iron and steel works situated at Bhadravati. Until recently the iron works were worked at a loss, but with the installations of plant to manufacture steel the outlook has changed for the better, and the present financial year will disclose a substantial profit. Bhadravati is now an important industrial centre and bids fair to become the Manchester of Southern India.

The new paper mills and cement factory are both located at Bhadravati. The possibility of manufacturing paper within the State has for long engaged the attention of Government. Extensive bamboo forests exist near Bhadravati, and the future of this industry can be judged from the fact that the share capital required for this venture was subscribed within twenty four hours of the issue of the prospectus. The manufacture of cement is also likely to be a profitable undertaking. All the raw material for this new industry is available in large quantities in the immediate neighbourhood of the factory, and a regular market is assured from the Kolar Gold Fields and Public Works Department of the State.

The electric factory at Bangalore turns out a variety of goods in common demand. The porcelain factory is another concern which has passed the stage of experiment and now makes high-grade insulators which are in general use in the electrical transmission systems in the State and in other parts of India.

The textile industries in the State have made phenomenal progress of late years. The general depression in the silk industry owing to the fierce foreign competition is now passing. Formerly most of the silk produced within the State was converted into material of rough character, which though durable was not of the fine finish of the imported article. In order to meet such competition the silk weaving factory was established on modern lines. This factory turns out silk fabrics of the finest finish and comparable to the best produced in any part of the world. Georgette,

crêpe de Chine, and satin of beautiful pattern and shades are now being manufactured. Many of the leading Princes and landed nobility are among the regular customers of the Mysore silk factory. Another recent step which the Government have sponsored in order to better the outlook for sericulture is the opening of a spun silk mill, which will shortly start manufacturing an enduring type of material for suitings from waste silk for which, up to the present, there has been no market at all.

Mining for gold is one of the oldest of Mysore's industries, and the mining leases of the companies operating at the Kolar Gold Fields have recently been renewed on improved terms. These mines are electrically operated on power from the State hydro-electric works at Sivasamudram, 93 miles away. So far over 80 million pounds worth of gold has been obtained on the field, and one of the shafts, which is 7,500 feet in vertical depth, is probably the deepest shaft in the world.

Though not so spectacular as some of the other industrial concerns, the work of the industrial engineers deserves special mention, since it affects the cultivating ryot. The industrial engineer, by introducing improvements in the elementary plant used by the cultivator, is assisting vast numbers of people to economic prosperity and social progress. They have introduced a better type of water lift pump, also improvements to the ordinary country bullock carts, and an improved oil mill. They have also brought about improvements in hand loom weaving, coir making, mat weaving, etc. Any improvement in such cottage industries in which hundreds of thousands of people are engaged can only be appreciated by those who know the hard fight the ordinary Indian villager has to earn a living.

Technical schools and manual training centres are also doing much to improve rural conditions. The outstanding institution of this class is the Chamarajendra Technical Institute in Mysore. At this centre pupils are trained in different industrial occupations such as carpentry, joinery, smithery, etc. The furniture and carved and inlaid art ware prepared at this institution are much in demand. Toy making and lacquer work are also turned out at profitable prices.

The Mysore sugar factory at Mandya has been in operation for less than two years and its success has been phenomenal. The mills have a capacity of 1,400 tons of cane a day and a crushing season of 200 days a year. Eleven thousand acres are under sugar cane in the vicinity of the factory, cultivated by farmers who receive advances from the factory on the security of their crop. These farmers are given free technical advice in methods of cultivation and manuring, and the factory maintains an experimental farm where work is carried on with a view to propagating the most suitable variety of sugar cane and finding effective methods of fighting the numerous pests to which a sugar cane crop is prey. The factory also runs as an adjunct a distillery, which produces liquors for consumption in the State. Rectified spirit as a substitute for petrol is also made, and the factory's lorries are run on this fuel. Molasses, which is a waste product from the factory, is being experimented with as a road surfacing material.

I hope this brief review has given you an indication of the spirit of the Government, which is one of service to the people. To sum up these activities I cannot do better than quote from the Bangalore correspondent of the *Madras Mail* Supplement to which I have referred:

The betterment of the general economic condition of the masses and an increasing exploration of all the available industrial and natural resources of the State, a gradual raising of the standard of living among the people and the creation of an industrial and progressive outlook among the people—these are the objects which Sir Mirza Ismail set before himself when he took over the reins of his office as Dewan. How well he has succeeded in attaining these objects every visitor to modern Mysore can see for himself—in the annual reports of the numerous industrial concerns, in the market pages of the newspapers and in the contentment which obtains in all parts of the State, urban and rural.

If any of you are contemplating a trip to the East in search of new scenes let me say you will not be disappointed if you make Mysore the object of your journey.

## SPEECHES ON THE FOREGOING ADDRESS

VISCOUNT GOSCHEN presided at a reception of the Association held at Grosvenor House Park Lane, on Wednesday January 27, when some 260 guests were present. Mr T V A Isvaran was the host, and Mr H D Rice showed a film upon Mysore making preliminary observations on the lines of the foregoing article.

In opening the proceedings Lord Goschen said: We have come here today to hear an address from Mr Rice, the Deputy Trade Commissioner for Mysore, on *Mysore of Today*. I am sure that there is no one more competent to address us on that subject than Mr Rice who has, I believe, a family connection of over a hundred years with Mysore. He has himself been connected for forty years with Mysore, his father was there some forty-six years, his grandfather some fifty years, and Mr Rice has a son present today. I am sure you will agree with me that that is a very worthy record of service to Mysore. (Applause)

It is a very special pleasure to me to take the Chair today owing to my great personal friendship with His Highness the Maharaja and all the kindness I received from him and from the people of Mysore on the many visits which I have paid there. I think some of my happiest days in India were spent on my visits to Mysore. It is a State with a great historic past and great possibilities of development in the future. Owing to the far-sighted views and policy of His Highness and his advisers, those developments are in progress today, and I am sure there is a great future lying in front of Mysore. All those who have visited it will have been struck by the beauty of the town, by its wide streets, by the hospitals, by the schools, and by the many other institutions it possesses. In the countryside the jungles are some of the best that there are in India.

I have just heard that there was a marvellous gathering in Mysore a week or two ago. A World Conference of Y M C A s was held there by the invitation of H H the Maharaja. There were representatives from some thirty-seven countries, including the Continent, the United States, China, Japan and Siam. You will agree with me that it is an example of the wide-mindedness and vision of His Highness that he should have asked this Conference to assemble in Mysore. I am confident of this, that all those who went there will, like all others who have visited Mysore, have appreciated the kindly hospitality with which they will have been received.

(Mr Rice then delivered his address and showed the film.)

LORD LAMINGTON said: Lord Goschen, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure the goodly company assembled here today would not like to separate without expressing our thanks to the Mysore Trade Commissioner, Mr Isvaran, for his kind hospitality and for giving us an opportunity of seeing these remarkable films. We are also very grateful to Mr Rice for his interesting commentary on the views he has shown, and also the wonderful recital he

gave us of the activities of Mysore Fifty years ago he would have been regarded as a mere dreamer of dreams

All this wonderful development of Mysore one of the model States of India, is largely due to the enlightened views of His Highness the Maharaja. Last year we had the pleasure of welcoming His Highness over here and he had the opportunity of meeting old friends and making new acquaintances He is a very remarkable personality because with the profound attachment to the Hindu faith, he has shown his wide sympathy with other beliefs Lord Goschen, in his opening remarks, mentioned that a very large Y M C A Conference recently assembled in Mysore The result of all this has been to make Mysore one of the most prominent and vital States in India and we are very grateful indeed to have been enlightened as to what has been taking place there.

We are also very grateful to Lord Goschen for having presided here today He was a most successful Governor in Madras He also made some very interesting remarks

Having listened to this address today by Mr Rice we shall all feel inclined to take our passages out to Mysore as soon as possible We cannot all afford to do that—at least I cannot—but I should like to gaze upon these wonderful scenes and to see working this great industrial development and prosperity of the State of Mysore

With these words I beg on your behalf to thank Mr Isvaran the Deputy Trade Commissioner Mr Rice, and also our Chairman for having come here and assisted us to so much enjoy this interesting occasion

Mr ISVARAN It affords me very great pleasure to say a few words this afternoon and to tender my thanks to Lord Lamington for his kind observations on the part which we have been called upon to take in order to promote the enjoyment of our guests and also to express my gratitude to Lord Goschen who has so kindly taken the Chair today in spite of the discomfort and inconvenience occasioned to him by a recent mishap He was the guest of honour with Lady Goschen at the Mysore Dinner in London nearly two years ago His presence here today and the remarks he has made testify once again to his abiding interest in and to his friendship for Mysore As His Lordship indicated he is no stranger to the State for he visited it during his Governorship of Madras and met from time to time His Highness the Maharaja They entertain towards each other feelings of strong friendship

I must not fail to mention on this occasion how very thankful I am to Mr F H Brown the Hon Secretary of the East India Association, to whose initiative and enthusiasm, not to say courtesy this distinguished gathering is very largely due (Applause)

You will desire me to be brief this afternoon and I have only one task I have the honour to be a humble servant of His Highness the Maharaja and his Government, and if this afternoon's proceedings have given those present a clear idea of the many attractions of the Mysore State and of the activities of its Government and people, I shall feel that our efforts have been amply rewarded (Applause)



The CHAIRMAN I am sure that all of us have enjoyed our afternoon immensely I certainly have enjoyed seeing the films They brought back to me many happy memories of the annual Dasara which I attended twice. We are all very grateful to the Trade Commissioner for Mysore and to Mr Brown and others who have arranged that we should be here this afternoon and to Mr Rice for his address and the pictures

I think I should be right in saying that an assembly of this kind and these numbers gathered together to see the pictures and hear the address would give immense pleasure to His Highness the Maharaja He is always delighted when people in this country take an interest in that great State over which he rules with so much wisdom and so much sagacity

The proceedings have been a very real pleasure to me, and I hope to all of you who have been here this afternoon (Applause)

## THE NEW INDIA SOME TRENDS AND PERSONALITIES

BY BASIL MATHEWS

(Author of *Clash of Colour* and other works)

It would seem a gross impertinence for any man, on the basis of three months spent in the vast sub-continent that we call India, with all its confused and complex maelstrom, to attempt to define the direction in which India is moving or to assess the personalities who incarnate its ideas and ideals. For that reason it is better to begin with a brief description of the processes by which my *being* has been immersed in the stream of Indian consciousness. The passions and burning ideas, the angers, ambitions, loves, and hates of the new India have broken in upon me incessantly in intimate conversations and sustained discussions with men and women of all ages and varied religious, cultural, racial, and economic backgrounds.

To escape from the pitfall of delusion into which the traveller falls who believes all that he is told in a land where courtesy often leads folk to hand to you what they think you wish to hear rather than the naked reality, I adopted, among other methods, the technique of getting men of different views discussing with one another while I listened in. For example, in Erode, that stirring war horse, who founded the Self Respect movement to fight the Brahminical domination of Congress sat on a veranda with me in discussion with a cultured Hindu headmaster, who both practises *yoga* and is devoted to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and an Indian film magnate who is a passionate devotee of Mahatma Gandhi. For two hours I had those men discussing the Indian situation, now hilariously, now intensely, each battling for his point of view. The onlooker and listener was forgotten.

Another obvious method has been to pass from man to man in

separate interviews, assembling contradictory points of view For instance, in Madura in one long afternoon I talked for hours with, first, an extremely orthodox Brahmin with the Vishnu trident on his forehead, who made a passionate defence of child marriage against my criticism of it in a recent book, simultaneously pleading for a reorganization of the Constitution of the British Empire with a Federal Parliament, second, a highly cultured modern tolerant Hindu, a Judge in the High Court of Madras, who described the springs of the new Tamil cultural renaissance as distinguished from the other types of renaissance in the Punjab and Bengal, and, third, a Brahmin, a local secretary of Congress, who, having truculently told me he could spare me fifteen minutes, outlined for me the historic and unparalleled malignity, treachery, craft, and brutality of the British Government until, at the end of sixty three minutes, I suggested that his quarter of an hour was up!

I not only had long, intimate, and really friendly talks with the giants of the Indian scene—Rabindranath Tagore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Abdul Gaffar Khan, known as the Gandhi of the North-West Frontier, the new Dewan of Travancore, Sir C P Aiyer, and Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the greatest living poet in the Islamic world—but, on the one side, with *detenus* held by the British Government for alleged terrorism in Bengal, a Left Wing leader imprisoned by the British as a Communist but cursed by the Communists for his refusal to let his movement be captured by them, students—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, atheist, and Christian, and missionaries, whose lives are completely dedicated to the service of the depressed classes which Hinduism and Islam have left by the wayside At the other end of the scale I had long and repeated analyses of the situation in the company of men so ready for fresh initiative and experiment as Lord Brabourne, the Governor of Bombay, and Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal

#### FROM SOUTH TO NORTH

The three months' travel took me from Madura through Tinnevely down to Cape Comorin and by slow stages of entranced in

terest through the villages, and through the length of Travancore, from Trivandrum, where I had a long talk with the Dewan and a session with educationists, politicians, and social workers of all types, through the rural reconstruction work of the Y M C A , through contacts with the saintly insights of Bishop Abraham of the Mar Thoma Church, and scores of interviews with men of different faiths and castes and cultures, right up to Alwaye College, that unique Christian institution created mainly by the corporate life of a group of Indian Jacobites. So the journey moved by stages through the villages around Erode and the wonderful Christian ashram of Tirupatur to the whirling, bewildering experiences of Madras, ranging from the Theosophical Society and the Rama Krishna monastery and social service to the Rotary Club, the Women's Christian College, and the secretary of the All India Women's Conference, with her alert and eager son and daughters. Penetrating northward into Hyderabad I was able, through Sir Akbar Hydari and others, to share the liveliest discussions and interviews with progressive and orthodox Muslims, with Communist and Conservative students, and to watch the working of the one great Indian university using the vernacular where one felt the pulse of an Indian State in which conservatism and modernism are at grips. Frank long talks with people like Mrs. Reddi, a pioneer in the liberal movements of Indian women, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, for so long simultaneously the nightingale poet and the stormy petrel of political advance, and the challenging adventurousness of her son and daughter, were followed by a swift plunge into the heart of the depressed class multitudes in Medak, whose radiant and intensely real, albeit primitive, Christianity to my mind shames the stodgy coldness of many suburban churches in England.

Time and space fail to describe further how in Dornakal and Bezwada I was able to feel more closely the pulse and test the mind of the growing multitudes of Christian village folk. Then on to the intellectual and social milieu of Calcutta, followed by Nagpur in the Central Provinces, Bombay on the west, then Allahabad, from which the forces of Congress are now directed, and through Benares, Lucknow, Agra and Delhi to Lahore. In

each of these places contacts were made which enriched every side of my experience. At Allahabad, for instance, many hours spent in the lovely hospitality of the home which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's sister and brother-in-law make for him brought me to a deeper comprehension of that strangely interesting figure. Along side this experience were interviews with, for example, N K Mukerji, one of the outstanding Christian social philosophers of India, Ralla Ram, secretary of the Student Christian Movement for India, Burma, and Ceylon, and many students.

Again, in Benares I experienced an overwhelming contrast between a discussion with members of the faculty and with students of the Hindu University on the one hand and taking the lid from hell itself in looking into the sub-human and agonizing squalor and disease of the communities of Doms, while at the same time sharing the meditative absorption of the new Buddhist monastery founded on the site where Gautama experienced his enlightenment. The whole gamut is run if we add to this the newly-opened temple to Mother India in which the object of worship is a superb Carrara marble relief map of India, over which the ceremony of bringing spirit into the stone has been performed with solemn rites as to an idol in a Hindu temple.

At this point it was of great help in getting balance to test my tentative conclusions on such minds at Delhi as Mr Ian Stephens, Director of Information, Dr John Mattai, at the head of the Industrial and Research Department, the Home Member, Sir Henry Craik, the Member for Railways and Industries, Sir Zafrulla Khan, and again at Lahore, on Mr Malcolm Darling of the I C S, author of *Rusticus Loquitor* and other well known books, and such an experienced judge of men and movements as the Bishop of Lahore. From contact with both modernist and orthodox Islamic groups in Lahore, my travel swung sharply southward through the Central Provinces, with the interesting experiment in the education of Hindu women in Nagpur, down to Mysore State, with its blend of Oriental splendour, Hindu piety, and Western industrialism and engineering.

In all this range of interchange I found it easy and natural to keep an open mind, not in the sense of having no convictions

personally, but in that of having no desire to prove any thesis or to support any institution. It is only fair to myself to add that for over a quarter of a century India has had a central place in my thought and study, seeing, for instance, that I even had the impertinence to publish a book on India which was used in English public schools some twenty years ago.

### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

One conclusion arising out of this experience that I have tested without contradiction on every kind of mind, from the Left Wing of Congress to the stiffest bureaucrat, is that at this stage the mind of India is swinging from the contemplation of revolution on purely political lines to one that regards economic revolution on Socialist if not even Marxian principles as the main objective of thought and action. This is, of course, in one aspect simply a part of the world movement that has carried the Rooseveltian Government in the United States into economic planning for the whole country and which makes a major preoccupation of every government in Europe the development and control of its economic life both internally and in world relations. The unique importance of it in regard to India is that, in the minds of men like Jawaharlal Nehru, the wealthy absentee zamindar in the United Provinces or Bengal, the moneylender with his economic stranglehold on the peasant, the despotic Indian prince and the Brahmin priest are as much the enemy of the Indian people's freedom and happiness as is the British Government.

I ventured to put to an eminent expert Government official the following thesis. I discovered great palatial houses in Calcutta occupied by wealthy zamindar landlords absentee from their vast estates, at the other end I saw peasants in Bengal villages so ground down into the very dust with poverty that they were selling their brass utensils and string beds to buy a handful of rice. In between the zamindar and the peasant stood hordes of parasitic middle-men, each squeezing all he could from the next, the ultimate squeeze of all being the process that bleeds the peasant white. To add to this scene of diabolical exploitation, the money lender provides the peasant with money at usurious rates with

which to pay his rent and the taxes that the Government demands from him, and makes the peasant an economic serf. Into that scene there now descends under the new Constitution for the first time the politician, whose simulated affection for the peasant cloaks his desire for votes. He promises, as I discovered in talk with more than one, fantastic amelioration of the peasants' lot such as the new Governmental rule will never carry into effect. To his aid come the young unemployed law graduates educated in the political and legal classics of English liberty and in the power of argument, and captured often by an enthusiasm for Marxian Communism.

These conditions, I suggested to the Government official, seemed to me to afford an ideal forcing bed of rebels that only waits for the maturing of ferment and a Lenin to precipitate a revolution fired by the flames of Communism and Nationalism. I further suggested that if it is objected that the British Government could at any time put down such revolutionary movements by force, the reply is the one that will be given in every part of India today, that inevitably in the relatively near future the British Empire will be absorbed in a world conflict so devastating and strenuous that she will have to call even from India every man to hold her stricken lines of defence. In addition, or alternatively, the technique of obstruction to the working of the normal instruments of government and the attempt to develop a solidarity of front in resistance both to Imperial rule and indigenous economic exploitation bid fair under favourable circumstances to be instruments of a deadlock that would force a revolution.

The only modification that was made by the first Government expert on whom I tried this thesis was that he tended to reduce the ten years that I suggested for this process to five. The second Government official, with even longer and profounder experience, agreed wholeheartedly with the thesis and saw no alternative save a swift and potent development of the co-operative movement, a development of which he was not optimistic owing to the weaknesses produced through corruption and inertia. One reason why the first official argued for the shorter period was that in India

you have the unique fact that economic stress and social upheaval in a revolutionary direction happen, because of the new Constitution, to coincide with a large increase of political drive through the vastly increased franchise. This increases simultaneously the interest of the rank and file in the destinies of India and their power to affect the political fate of their country.

#### THE CONGRESS PRESIDENT

In terms of personality this trend is dramatically illustrated by the swing that has set Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the centre of the stage of India's revolutionary movement, relegating Mahatma Gandhi, at least for the time being, to a secondary rôle. Nehru seems to me to be at once a tragic and heroic figure, a man of passionate ideals, utter integrity, enthusiasm for the exploited and hatred of oppression. He is nevertheless put at the head of the vast *Congress machine* that so far has been largely supported financially by wealthy industrialists and zamindars, who would be deprived of their riches and power by the practical achievement of his policy. He is thus driven to terms of compromise with what is to him an enemy. Withdrawal of that support is now, in fact, threatened through Nehru's socialistic leadership.

That Nehru is heroic cannot, I think, be doubted by those who have read his autobiography and followed his career of abnegation and renunciation. It is this, even more than the concrete terms of his policy, which so far has been only defined in general terms of uncompromising Socialism, that has won the allegiance of the outstanding majority of educated Indian youth, even among Muslims and Christians. A part of his tragedy is that while he is Prince Rupert he is also Hamlet—a man ready to dash into the fray regardless of peril to himself, who nevertheless in another mood sits brooding like some lonely prince, clear as to his ideals but caught in a mesh of tangled cross-purposes and hidden intrigue. Where the average Congress Indian sees the British Government as the enemy and tends to carry over his hatred from the system to the executive tools of it, Nehru sees all despotism, whether of the Indian or the Japanese Empire, whether of Italy or of Germany or of Great Britain, as hateful. Again, when multi



tudes damn the Western capitalist as a bloodsucker, Nehru sees the Indian millowner and landlord as equally coming under condemnation

As one talks with him the impression grows of a curiously detached, objective, almost olympic mind in one part of his being, harnessed to the passionate Nationalist crusader. Unquestionably, the thought of the West, and especially trends of thought in Britain, are central in his interest. The den where he reads and dictates and plans is surrounded on every side by bookshelves, and fresh parcels of books, including, say, Charles Morgan's *Sparken broke*, the plays of Ernst Toller, G D H Cole, H J Laski, and Fisher's *History of Europe*, attest the variety and depth of the interests of this cultured son of Harrow and Cambridge. Temperamentally an aristocrat, he is, with all his passionate Socialism, incapable of either looking or even, it would seem, feeling himself one of the people. Saturated in the culture of the West, he never gives the impression that Gandhi always conveys of being of the very soil of India.

Nehru has the statesman's gift for long perspectives, but he has not Gandhi's intuition for either dramatizing his actions or feeling the pulse of the vast illiterate masses. One cause of this may lie in his rejection of the traditional forms and the immemorial emotional reactions of popular religion. Even when in talk with him I raised issues in regard to India, immediately and unconsciously he lifted them on to a world plane. He is that strange blend—an apostle of Nationalism who is really a citizen of the world. It is really the British Government that, by imprisoning him, has dramatized Nehru into the heroic rôle that he plays. Nehru, however, has superbly capitalized that with his *Autobiography*, many pages of which not merely show full control of English but are pure literature. It is even conceivable that immortality may come to this strange man not through his political career but through his writing in a language which is not his mother tongue.

### MR. GANDHI

I talked with Mahatma Gandhi in the one roomed habitation of mud walls set in a small courtyard where his bleating goats and lowing cows formed a background for Mrs Gandhi's spinning-wheel and for the giant form of Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Muslim Pathan who is known as the Gandhi of the North West Frontier. As he explained to me, the village in which he now lives is cut off from the world for four months of the year by a sea of mud through which no metalled road has been made. Coming through India I had been impressed by the fact that the majority of Indian students, especially the young graduates who came as students through the non-co-operation movement, are perfectly disillusioned. They lamented to me how they had given some of their best years in prison, believing Gandhi's statement that Swaraj would come in a year or so, and were bitter not only at the disappointment of that hope but at the irrecoverable precious years lost.

I put to Gandhi the question whether the freedom of India did not involve getting rid of the shackles of the zamindar and the moneylender as well as the British Government. He replied that the moneylender was at present necessary, but that when the Harijan had been taught to use his leisure so as to earn an adequate income the control both of the moneylender and of the zamindar would automatically disappear. One could not help recollecting that Mr. Gandhi himself comes from the Bania class that provides most of India's moneylenders. His development of the thesis of the Harijan using leisure to amass products from the palms and the crops was his main answer to my question as to the programme of the constructive as opposed to the destructive revolution.

Where Nehru starts with the universal ideology of Marxism and hardly condescends to make a programme for carrying it out, Gandhi rejects all ideologies and starts on the soil with a handful of the depressed classes. An overwhelming sense of futility swept over me as I contemplated in thought the half-million villages of India with some three hundred million of largely illiterate, often malaria-ridden, under-nourished peasantry, hag-ridden both by

terror of cholera goddesses and economic vampires, and then heard this acclaimed leader rejecting the co-operative bank, scientific methods of adult education of the illiterate, and fulminating in anger against the Christians who for over a century have laid down their lives for the outcaste, while Hinduism passed by on the other side. Gandhi voiced to me his criticism that just when Hinduism was trying to reform itself and to bring the Harijan within its frontiers, the Christian leaders of the West should be straining every nerve to lead them into the Christian fold.

I refrained from attempts to change the Mahatma's views on things, yet I could not forbear from asking whether in his own inmost heart he did not believe that the Christian service of the outcastes had been a main instrument in awakening the desire of the depressed peoples for a fuller life and through that, in stirring some elements in Hinduism to try to open the temples to the Untouchables. He warmly agreed that this actually was so, on which it was difficult to refrain from putting the fresh question whether it was really fair to expect Christians to pull up stakes and fold their tents and creep away, just because of this partial change of the Hindu heart. In this connection there comes to mind a talk with a brilliant Punjabi intellectual whose mind has been as much influenced by Nietzsche and Bernard Shaw as by Mahomed. He declared to me "The creation of Gandhi is a crime for which India can never work out full expiation. In the hour when India needs to be led forward realistically to grapple with her economic and other troubles, Gandhi tries to turn her face back to the Middle Ages, and he is hammering to try to open the gates of the temples to the outcastes when what India most of all needs is to be led to turn her back on the temples and look to the light."

Unquestionably to the masses of India as distinguished from the intelligentsia Gandhi has been a figure of almost divine authority, an attitude which the completely uncritical devotion of many devotees in the Western world has done much to foster. Today, however, with the failure of one prophecy after another of his to materialize and with the intensified economic pressure on the

peasant, Gandhi's authority tends to fade away. There is, however, an incalculable quality in him which has repeatedly given him the air of a man of destiny, and he would be rash who dogmatically prophesied that the end of Gandhi's career was at hand. The movement of his religious thought flows with increasing swiftness back to Hinduism, which he was once almost led to deny. He told me that, while the absolute spiritual authority lay always in his own breast, for him the Bhagavad Gita is the only religious book in the world in which he has found it impossible to discover defects.

The waters of the slow surge of the mass mentality away from Gandhi are fed by a trend from belief in the powers of ideas in themselves to a conviction that ultimately force must be used to make them prevail. Although Indians know that at present they do not possess the instruments of force by which they might wrest from Britain its rule over them, the conviction grows that Britain will never relax her grip until force is used or until India has the unity, the strength and the will to compel Britain to yield what she will never freely give. This is in essence entirely different from Gandhi's doctrine of *ahimsa* or the power of the soul.

#### MODERNIZING INFLUENCES

The fact that Gandhi is giving himself entirely to the task of removing untouchability from Hinduism leads us to the third unmistakable trend in the life of India today. The motor bus penetrates into remote villages and carries the peasant into the market town with its gossip and cinemas, and the newspaper with its stories of political campaigns into the villages. "Talkies" with intense love interest dramatizing rural reconstruction and satirizing the zamindar's agent, the lawyer, the priest, and the moneylender draw crowded houses. The masses thrust down below the threshold of Hinduism are stirring to new economic and social aspirations. This is a unique and momentous trend in the contemporary scene.

That sixty to seventy million human beings denied the most elementary rights of even servile personality should begin on a wide scale and in many areas simultaneously to seek some open

door to freedom has already challenged the ancient stranglehold of the Brahmin. The value of votes under the new Constitution has led Sikh and Muslim communities to invite the outcastes, through their outstanding leader, Dr Ambedkar, into those folds. No authoritative Christian leader has made similar approaches. The change in the life of millions of the depressed classes who are already Christians has led the depressed peoples in some areas to ask for entrance into the Christian community. Their motives in doing so are no doubt mixed—a blend of economic, social, and vague spiritual aspirations.

The break in of Western education and ways of life has created another trend by battering on the walls of the joint family system and the seclusion of women, whether Muslim or Hindu. When you find even in the court of the Muslim Nizam of Hyderabad the wife of the heir-apparent (herself daughter of the ex-Caliph, Sultan of Turkey) appearing unveiled in public and making the presidential address to a great women's conference calling Indian women to advance, when you meet in the drawing rooms of Lahore Muslim husbands and wives enjoying Christmas festivities and thronging to the cinemas, or when you notice in the select restaurants of the cities of India that fifty per cent of the folk enjoying tea are women where barely two per cent would have come out a few years ago, you are witnessing just two or three of the thousands of indications of perhaps the most momentous of all the changes taking place in India's life.

#### CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS

Against this flood of advance the forces of conservatism are exercising all their power. I even heard of Muslim men buying pictures of mixed bathing scenes on the beaches of Europe in order to shock their womenfolk into seclusion away from the, to them, outrageous immodesty thus pictured. It comes as some what of a shock to discover highly educated men strongly preferring their wives to remain in purdah. A professor of English in a southern university set to some two hundred students this year an essay on "Should girls be educated?" saying he cared nothing what views they expressed so long as they spoke their own mind.

and expressed themselves in good English. They were divided half and half, oddly enough into two extremes. One set wanted women out without any restrictions in co-educational universities and colleges with all the barriers down, the other held that woman's sole end was to know domestic duties, and, as one romantic boy put it, "to comfort her husband when he comes back from battle." A Brahmin Hindu advocating child marriage and the seclusion of women gave as his reasons that every girl from eleven years upwards developed what he called 'mischievous tendencies,' and seeing that, in his own words, "all men are bad," there was no alternative to early marriage and seclusion.

I brought this matter up in at least a score of groups of students in north, south, east and west of India. Everywhere they asserted that a tension, often painful, exists between the old authority of the family, especially as vested in the parents and uncles, and their own desire for freedom. In one college where I was staying, a youth on the eve of his examinations received a postcard from his father telling him curtly that his marriage had been arranged and calling him home immediately. A night spent by that youth in bitter weeping was followed by his immediate return home, his student career shattered. On the other hand, a sexagenarian Hindu lamented to me that, as he put it, 'Today the father of the family is just the family donkey on whom the boys and girls go for a joy ride.'

I sat at dinner in places as remote as Madras and Lahore with women sharing the dust and heat of fevered electioneering campaigns. One had chairs thrown round the room where she was speaking and fists shaken in her face because she had forsaken the veil. A blend of both elements was present in such personalities as Miss Feroz-ud-din of Lahore, Inspector of Schools of a large area, who rigidly sustains purdah. Invisible within her *bourkah* she discussed with me the problems of Muslim womanhood. She speaks veiled on public platforms and has command of some eight languages. Unquestionably the cream of India's new womanhood desires to share freedom of access to the beauty and drama of the world, while sustaining that poise and unconscious dignity that come from loyalty to values of goodness, truth and beauty.

So much of personal economic security and moral control has been vested for centuries in the joint family system that its passing, in proportion as it occurs, unquestionably creates new tensions. The relationship of father and son, the choice of husband or wife, insurance against unemployment and sickness, guidance in the sequence of life decisions that come to every man will all need reinforcement from other quarters.

#### REDEMPTIVE TREATMENT "

Coming now to another trend, so far as I can assess British policy in recent years it has seemed to swing rather uneasily between the adventures in co-operation and comprehension associated with the viceroyalty of Lord Irwin and the policy of rigorous punishment of seditious movements. To my mind the most disquieting feature of British rule in India today is that to the enormous majority of peasants the one thing they are vividly conscious of is the tax collector, and to all students the caves dropping and spying of those who report seditious talk. The vast ameliorative services of irrigation and health, of afforestation and justice are obscured behind the faces of the tax collector and the police spy. An oasis in this desert was afforded unexpectedly by the courageous, imaginative experiment of Sir John Anderson in training the *détenus* in agricultural and industrial centres and even planning for providing capital to set them up in their business and the marketing of their products. I have talked (all unknown to the British Government) with *ex-détenus* exceedingly embittered against our rule in general who hailed Sir John Anderson's effort as the first gesture that turns, as one of them put it, "from punitive and revengeful punishment to redemptive treatment." If that attitude could become dominant on the British side the political climate of India might be transformed.

When I enquired what are the cultural trends in contemporary India sometimes the response was made that it is impossible for any renaissance of culture to emerge under a soulless bureaucratic alien Government. The renaissance of the arts had come, the argument runs, when princes desired architects to build their palaces and places of worship, painters to furnish the walls,

sculptors to immortalize them, with poets to sing their praises and bring enchantment. As against this it has to be admitted that renaissance sometimes comes in rebellion against authority or in a blending of cultures through the mingling of, say, East and West

DR TAGORE

When I talked with Rabindranath Tagore he had on his desk a complete collected edition of his poems just issued. The book is a symbol of the real renaissance in Bengali literature and the rejuvenescence of the very language itself by this great Indian genius, and at the same time of the fact that his work is nearing its close. When, however, leaving Santiniketan I went in Calcutta to the little apartment where the Parichiya group of young and lively intellectuals meets, I found men who, on the one hand, with real devotion ascribe their inspiration to the great poet and, on the other hand, are reading the most modern and anarchic poets of Britain and America. As Tagore himself said to me humorously, 'They read T. S. Eliot and manage to be more obscure than even he.' These young men run a monthly magazine bearing the same name as their group, in which experiments toward a new Bengali literature are freely made in verse, essay, and story form. While some of the men were of independent means, some were young professors and engineers and one was a famous professional wrestler. There were no women in this group. These men were not guilty of the crime indicated in Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's playful raillery. She told me that she teased Rabindranath Tagore on having the most degrading influence in literature because he wrote exquisite mystical verse that led young fellows to produce long, foggy, formless sentences and feel that they were young Tagores!

SIR MOHAMMED IQBAL

There is in India today no more virile and outstanding literary figure than Sir Mohammed Iqbal, the greatest poet of this century writing in Urdu and Persian. Briefly, the revolutionary quality of his influence has lain in the fact that he came right on the heels of a poet who chanted the lament of the decay of Islam at the



end of the nineteenth century Iqbal, nurtured not only on the Koran but on the philosophy of Nietzsche following education in Heidelberg and Munich, found reinforcement of the virile, conquering, vehement spirit of early Islam in the German philosophy of the superman and the will to power. He therefore broke in upon the world with the chant of the immortal destiny and all-conquering resources of Islam. The adventurous, rich, systematic, philosophic mine, his *Secrets of the Self*, translated by Professor Nicholson of Cambridge, and his book on the philosophic ideas of Islam, with his poetry in Urdu and Persian still untranslated into English, have gone like a bugle call through the Islamic world of Northern India and the Middle East. He has drawn multitudes out of defeatism and is the inspiration of the younger group of essayists, poets and story writers whose principal medium is a monthly magazine called *Humayun* which also infiltrates into Northern India the writings of men like Tchekov, Bernard Shaw, and others.

These examples from Bengal and the Punjab are perhaps the most striking of a number of freshets of new culture that may well, in the not distant future, bring their tributary streams to the broader river of a general Indian renaissance. One of the difficulties in the way of such a happy climax is the lack of a universal language, the only general medium being a tongue that is alien to them all.

In the Dravidian south there are, both in painting and in literature, sporadic flights of artistic expression, although all too often the literature pathetically justifies the rather drastic criticism of a cultured Tamil, who said to me that most of it was merely a translation of ideas from the West into unintelligible Tamil.

#### COMMUNALISM

In the region of religion, two apparently contradictory trends really have at least one source in common. On the one side is the burning intensification of loyalties to the religious communities to which men belong, quickened by the communal award which gives political value to the number of heads to be counted as Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, or Christian. On the other side is the

sharp, rather harsh rise of antagonism to all organized religion, although not necessarily to a spiritual view of reality. Almost universally among Indians the blame for this intensity of communal antagonism is laid on the shoulders of the British Government. The prevailing view is that the British Government of malice aforethought applied the principle 'Divide and rule' to the existing antagonisms of Hindu and Muslim. Large numbers go even further and deny that these antagonisms were active previous to the British use of them. A spirit of intense criticism is directed against Mr Ramsay MacDonald for having decided for communal representation. It seems quite useless to state and restate the argument, first that those antagonisms actually date back to earlier centuries and second that no authoritative scheme for any other plan of representation has ever been put forward in terms that have not been repudiated by one or other powerful group. The repercussion on religion itself is harmful, because it tends to give membership of one or other of the religious communities a political significance. A man or woman tends to be counted as a vote rather than as a sincere follower.

For this reason I was more than once eagerly approached by young students or graduates with the statement that their very repudiation of the traditional faiths was caused by their ardent desire for spiritual truth. I scanned about eighty essays written by Hindu, Muslim, and Christian students in Travancore on "Religion in the New India". The essays were anonymous, so that there was no effort to impress the professor with the student's loyalty to any particular view. Practically all were perplexed and bewildered, with a small exceptional group of men of each of the faiths who had found clear guidance for life. A few repudiated even a spiritual view of the universe, but a clear majority took the position just stated, that it was essential to get past loyalty to the traditional formulæ to some spiritual reality. This accounts for the considerable popularity of the theosophic teaching.

We are led now to another trend of swiftly increasing significance. The growth of the Rama Krishna movement, which has developed a purified form of Hindu philosophy and grafted on to it an active programme of social service through medicine,

orphan schools and so on, is one conspicuous example of the widespread adoption and adaptation by other faiths of the principles and methods of the Christian mission. The Rama Swami community near Agra, the opening of a Buddhist missionary enterprise on the spot where Gautama received his enlightenment near Benares, the Ahmadiya movement, and indeed Gandhi's Harijan movement to destroy untouchability all derive their inspiration from the same source.

Another movement for holding modernist Nationalist Indians within the fold of Hinduism is illustrated in the new temple to Mother India close to Benares. There a Hindu millionaire who is a newspaper proprietor built this temple, to which I have already referred, putting Nationalism on the level of a religious sect within Hinduism itself. Taken altogether, these cross-currents constitute a more drastic process of change in Hinduism than has been witnessed for many centuries.

I have here surveyed all too briefly only a few of the more significant trends rather than attempt what would have been a mere catalogue of many trends that could have been discussed. Trying to look back on the whole experience in India, the first impression is one of cross-currents and contradictory streams. We are watching as it were a drama on a stupendous stage without being able to see to what climax, whether of tragedy or of happy fulfilment, it may lead. To the Indian of all types and classes the villain of the piece is the British Government. Yet to the more detached onlooker, however intense may be his sympathies with Indian aspirations toward unity and freedom, the shadow of other gigantic and evil forces looms up—dirt, disease, illiteracy, grinding poverty, exploitation. From these spring lethargy, terrible anæmia, paralysis of will, fatalism. Without trying to pronounce judgment on Mr. Edwyn Bevan's thesis that India is not weak because she is a subject people but subject because she is weak, one may well hold that she should not wait for the disappearance of the British Government before endeavouring to slay these giants that hold her in thralldom.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall Westminster S W 1 on Tuesday February 9, 1937 when a paper entitled *The New India Some Trends and Personalities*, by Mr Basil Mathews (author of *The Clash of Colour* and other works) was read by the Rev Dr William Paton Str Frederick Whyte KCSI, was in the Chair and the following ladies and gentlemen amongst others were present

The Right Hon Lord Lamington GCMG, GCIE, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode Bart OM GCB GCSI, KCMG DSO, Sir James MacKenna, CIE Sir Alfred Chatterton CIE Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir Malcolm Seton KCB Major-General Sir Leonard Rogers KCSI CIE FR S Sir Stanley Reed KBE, Sir Thomas Richardson Colonel Sir Cusack Walton DSO Sir Gilbert Jackson Lady Simon Lady Dawson, Mr H K Briscoe, CSI, CIE Mr H G Rawlinson CIE Mr V H Boalch CBE Mr Stanley Rice, Mr John de La Valette Mrs Weir Mr R K Sorabji, Mr T A H Way Mrs B D Berry and Master Berry Mrs Roberts Rev R Burges Mr H M Wilmot Rev E S Carr Miss Richard, Mr F J P Richter Mr D Ross Johnson CBE and Mrs Ross Johnson Mrs Rama Rau, Mrs McCallum Mr Aye Maung Mrs L M Saunders Mr M N Sen Mrs Barnes Mr Frederick Grub Mrs G G Sim Miss Harrison Mr T D Santwan Miss Speechley Mr P G Robertson Mr W M Newton Mr S Haque Mr A A Puri Mr Issar Davis Miss Drake, Mr Stephen Ormerod Mr Emanuel Miss E Coleman Mr H K Sadler Mr Eric Ellis and Mr F H Brown CIE, Hon Secretary

The CHAIRMAN You will see from the appearance of the platform that the proceedings today are not to be exactly as they were announced in the invitation card That is due to the fact that Mr Mathews chose to come home almost by the longest route he could find from India his boat was delayed, and it will be a day or two before he can land in this country We were looking forward to hearing from him an immediate picture of India as he found it this winter Mr Mathews is well known to most of you here It so happens that his only professional title at present is that of a professor in Boston University, in Massachusetts, but that is a mere accident. Mr Mathews is well known to us and to many outside this hall, and to many in continents other than ours as a person with a remarkable capacity for interpretation We were looking forward to his presence, knowing that he would approach the subject of India, not from the point of view of those political and constitutional preoccupations which have so filled our minds in the last year or two, but from that of the more intangible and perhaps more permanently interesting features in Indian life

I am here, ladies and gentlemen first of all to offer you an apology on the part of Mr Mathews for his inability to be here this afternoon and, secondly, to say that if Mr Mathews had to be absent he could not have found a

better deputy than the Rev William Paton, whom I wish to thank for his kindness in stepping into the breach  
(Mr Paton then read the paper)

The CHAIRMAN We are very much indebted to Mr Mathews for having given us this rapid cinematograph picture of what he saw both on the surface and under the surface of India But the very fact that he cast his net so wide, that he has touched on so many subjects, described so many personalities, suggested so many subjects for discussion, means that unless we can subject his paper to a process of selection it will be difficult to produce a satisfactory discussion arising out of it.

Mr Mathews comes to us as the latest and certainly a competent witness to what is going on in India today His evidence proves to us what we knew already that the movement known as Nationalism—though it is something far more than mere political Nationalism—goes on with an increasing momentum a momentum that increases faster even than those engaged in the movement realize and when one remembers that momentum means not only the volume of a stream, but also the speed at which it is travelling one realizes that even after a short period of absence from India the stream may have flowed on so rapidly that the observer of yesterday cannot adequately interpret the facts of today

Therefore I feel I am in a sense forbidden and in another sense absolved, from offering any critical comment on what Mr Mathews has said for it is twelve and a half years since I left India I have maintained as best I could a constant contact with the land where I had a brief and very interesting period of service but I know well enough at all events how easily absence severs contact to make me hesitate in offering any further comment on what Mr Mathews has suggested

But I will add one or two observations I think the most significant thing that emerges here is not the picture of the individual Indian leaders which Mr Mathews has drawn but the evidence that he has produced of the state of mental confusion into which the Indian mind is at present plunged That, of course, is merely evidence that India, in common with all other countries in the civilized world, is going through a period of transition—a transition from the known to the unknown

At one part of Mr Mathews paper it would appear as if the most important factor were the shifting of the emphasis in the field of public controversy from revolution or change wrought by political means to revolution or change wrought by economic means, and we can see how far a programme designed to represent that shift of emphasis has already disturbed the framework, the natural course and the leadership of the outstanding representative of the Indian national movement—namely, the Congress We can see already how far the thrust in of this new economic claim into the already established political organizations of India has produced a serious controversy within that organization, and produced it, moreover, at a moment when the leaders of the organization itself might well have hoped that they would be able to present a united front in the face of the tremendous problems placed before them by the enactment of the new Constitution

Then Mr Mathews has told us that the generation that enlisted under the banner of non-co-operation some years ago are now completely submerged in disillusion. That is a common and universal experience, and while I cannot bring any evidence to bear upon it from Indian circumstances I can see very clearly that India is probably today going through a parallel course of experience to that which the younger Chinese revolutionaries have gone through in recent years. Just as those who enlisted under Sun Yat Sen some twenty years ago have now realized that revolution in the sense of a profound change in the structure of society is something more than a matter of conflict, banners and slogans just as that realization dawns on the mind of the man passing out of adolescence into real manhood so his mind of necessity undergoes a profound change in the course of which he has to suffer from a painful fever, a low fever of disillusion.

But if I am in any way to interpret what we see in India today by what I know is passing in the minds of most constructive thinkers in China I would say that that very fact of disillusion is in itself an element of hope—not hope to the individual going through the disillusion but hope from the point of view of the observer watching the process. For in China at all events it has meant this, that the younger generation who set out in the belief that the dawn of the great tomorrow could be brought about merely by a rampagous campaign, have now discovered that the dawn of the great tomorrow is something for which they must work and something, more over which they may never live to see but that their children will inherit.

SIR ABDUL QADIR I first of all mention the feeling which all of us have and which we share with our Chairman—a feeling of disappointment over the fact that Mr Mathews has not been able to reach England in time to read his paper himself. It would have been very interesting to hear it from his own lips and to discuss things with him. I had the pleasure and the privilege of having a talk with Mr Mathews shortly before he left for India and he told me how he was going to try in the short period he would have there, to get into touch with some of the leading minds of India and to compare notes with them. He has done that and therefore in view of the talk that I had with him it is of peculiar interest to me to listen to this paper which has been read to us this afternoon.

This paper is very different from many papers on India we have had already. It is not only unusually interesting but thought-provoking and stimulating just as most of the writings of Mr Mathews are. He is a man of original mind and the way in which he has looked at things is characteristic of him.

As the Chairman has remarked the paper covers a vast ground. There is so much of it to be discussed that if we were to take up every point we should have a discussion requiring far more than one afternoon. I shall take up only one or two of the more salient points made by Mr Mathews. I must speak with diffidence as things are changing so rapidly that anybody who has been away from India even for a short period cannot easily venture to express opinions as to what is going on there today. Mr Mathews has an advantage over me, as I have been away from India for two years and a

half but I have one little advantage over him that I know most of the personalities mentioned by him and have had talks with many of them on various occasions, though I have not had the advantage of conversation with them so recently as Mr Mathews has had

In the light of my observance of the various trends in India described in the paper I feel that Mr Mathews is a little too pessimistic in the view that he is taking of the situation. Mr Mathews gives me the impression that he thinks that perhaps a great revolution in India is coming very soon according to one of the official experts to whom he talked about it, it is perhaps coming in five years, and according to his thesis it may be coming in ten years. Though it is unsafe for anybody talking about any part of the world today in these rapidly changing times, to prophesy anything about any country, I do not quite share the opinion that revolution on the lines which Mr Mathews seems to be foreseeing is coming in India so soon.

Passing on from this observation about the general trend of things to the impression gathered by Mr Mathews as to the relations between the two great leaders of Indian political thought—namely Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—I am afraid I do not quite agree with Mr Mathews. Like many other observers from among the Western judges of these two men he seems to think that there is a great divergence of opinion between them. From what I have been observing—and perhaps some others knowing India will share my view—I think that in spite of apparent divergence there is a great and real appreciation and understanding of one another and their lines of action have a united purpose behind them.

I know that in 1929 when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was given the Presidentship of the Congress it was due to the influence of Gandhi. He wanted to bring Pandit Nehru to the forefront and to make use of his undoubted ability and energy. Even when there have been occasions on which they have appeared to differ from one another it is an undoubted fact that Pandit Nehru has been amenable to the influence of the older leader in the line of action that he adopts. We cannot say therefore that Gandhi has been relegated to a secondary position. He steps aside of his own accord while retaining many of the privileges which he had before, and he is often asked to intervene and advise. What will happen will be that Nehru will supply the motive power of the Congress engine, as it were while Gandhi will serve the function of a brake on the engine when ever a brake is necessary.

Coming next to the apparent contradiction in the attitude of Mr Nehru himself towards the main questions now before the Congress I think the contradiction is more or less soluble. Though he believes that Socialism is the sole remedy for the evils of India, and thereby as has been observed in this paper he is causing to some extent an estrangement of the sympathies of the capitalist classes of the country he is showing a practical common sense in working with the elements in the Congress which represent the well-to-do trading classes.

If they have eyes to see the latter cannot help noticing that with all his protestations in favour of Socialism pure and simple, his actual line of work is such that he is trying to keep the Capitalists and the Socialists in the

Congress together. Perhaps his protestations in favour of Socialism serve the purpose of keeping the Socialists within the Congress fold.

Before concluding my remarks I may make a passing reference to the observations of Mr Mathews about two older leaders of thought, in a different domain altogether. In the literary and intellectual sphere he has met two of our greatest poets Tagore and Iqbal. Some of the writings of Iqbal, no doubt lay great stress on developing the will to power, as Mr Mathews rightly observes, which the spirit of Tagore marks on more peaceful lines. Yet they both resemble one another in their ideals and in their intense love for their own country and for its welfare. Both of them have in their own respective ways, as is said in this paper, influenced the thought of younger men very widely.

I must say in conclusion, that I admire very much the amount of information that Mr Mathews collected during his short visit, and must congratulate him on the excellent manner in which he has compressed so much observation and thinking into the small compass of a short paper.

SIR STANLEY REED. I am a little depressed at what I call the absence of any constructive side in the dynamic Congress movement. I have read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography from beginning to end. What weighed on me with all his transparent sincerity and all his real devotion to his country was that it remained a pure negation and at the end I could discover nothing except that he was opposed to every form of authority everywhere. So much so that I fail to see any light there as to the application of the dynamic forces he represents to the better government of India.

Mr Gandhi today in his political movements has always seemed to me to represent the negative side of Indian thought. On the constructive side behind some of the seeming absurdities of his propaganda to my mind there is nearly always a basic principle, but on the political side I have failed to find that expressed in any direction which would give us confidence and help.

Now times are changing and in every way Congress will be a great influence in the new Provincial Governments. I look with some apprehension to the expression of that influence in concrete form for the greater happiness and prosperity of India. As Mr Mathews says towards the end of his paper dirt, disease, illiteracy, grinding poverty and exploitation—these are the real matters with which India has to deal. Many of them spring, as I see it, from forces inherent in certain sections of Indian society itself. India and Indians alone can cut that canker out.

That has to my mind a very vivid bearing on what has been talked of as the threat of a revolution. What do we mean by revolution? Do we mean a political revolution by force, or a political revolution by non-co-operation, or do we mean a social and economic revolution? May I say this that I think a social and economic revolution is overdue, and that without it we cannot look for stability in India. But that revolution can be inspired and directed only by Indians themselves and we have to consider, so long as we have a share in authority in that government what must be our own attitude towards it.

I would suggest to you that those who are engaged in the service of India,



Englishmen in the Services and otherwise, could have no higher ideal than to throw themselves behind the Indian Ministers in any schemes they can produce for combating those evils which have been vividly presented to us in the paper and which are so painfully apparent to all who work and labour in that land. It is not going to be an easy path to tread.

I hope you will take away very strongly indeed the words which fell from the chair as to the disillusionment of young China and what that disillusionment means, not success in their own lifetimes, but, they hope, success in the generations coming after through such part as they can take in it. I feel that there is a period of great disillusionment coming for some of the finest spirits in Indian public life and in Indian service. What we can do is to assist them over that period and help them to set their feet on these broad paths—putting politics entirely aside—which should lead to the destruction of those social and economic evils which press heavily on the land and which they alone can tackle. May it be done with our wholehearted and enthusiastic support.

Mrs RAMA RAU I feel I must say just one word with regard to one particular point that Mr Mathews raises in the paper about conservatism pushing back the progress that Indian women are making. I, too, have just had contact with India in fact it is a little over a month since I came back. While I was there I had many opportunities for I travelled both in the north and south of India, of meeting those women who are standing for the new Legislatures in different parts of the country. Perhaps, because I happen to belong to the women's movement in India, I did not find conservatism raise its head to the same extent as Mr Mathews did while travelling there. That conservatism does exist in India I do not for one moment deny, but I do not think we can draw any definite conclusion from that fact.

The existence of conservatism in this country too is very apparent. It is not very long ago that I was talking to a group of international students in London, and I was astonished to find that a large number of the students at that meeting were strongly opposed to the progress that women in different countries are desiring. They were convinced that economic barriers should be placed in the way, that women should be shut out of certain jobs and certain positions because it was a case of providing for the men first.

My own observation has been that as soon as we have the opportunity to start a new school or college, people who are, comparatively speaking poor and illiterate are most anxious to send their daughters to the new institution. Not long ago we were responsible for starting a girls' school in Simla. We had catered only for eighty girls. It was really for the children of the lower middle class, the people amongst whom we would naturally find a fair amount of conservative opinion. But we were crowded out on the first day, because we had applications for two hundred and fifty girls for that particular school.

In view of these facts I do not think that the few elements of conservatism that Mr Mathews has come across during his travels in India are likely to affect the progress of Indian women in any appreciable degree. That chairs should be thrown about at an electioneering meeting is not surprising. It

might be done in this country also. Behaviour of an audience may depend on what the particular candidate stands for and what views that candidate expresses.

That there are a few orthodox Muslims who feel that without the veils of the purdah women being removed they still can do very responsible and valuable work is proved by the fact that the late Begum of Bhopal from within the veil did rule her State though in her later years she gave up purdah. There are a few people who still believe in that but never have they denied the right of equality that Indian women are claiming. I have worked in the women's movement in India for a great many years, and I have never once come across any definite view from Indian men that Indian women have no right of equality and should not claim it.

Mr PARON. I have been away from India ten months and on reading the paper through for the first time I felt that Mr Mathews was right, that some things have certainly moved on a great deal since I was there.

I entirely agree with him about the enormous significance in India of Pandit Nehru just now. I do not think anybody can be much with young Indians in India today and not feel that he has got them body and soul. I found that in all classes. I found it very conspicuously amongst Christian boys and students who had come from surroundings and homes and conditions rather markedly at variance with what the Pandit stood for. I think it is most important for British people in this country to understand what the Pandit stands for. I agree with Sir Abdul Qadir that one can overestimate the difference between what the Pandit stands for and what Mr Gandhi stands for but you cannot read that autobiography (which like Sir Stanley Reed, I have read from beginning to end and reviewed) and not realize that while the Pandit is constantly puzzled to account for Mr Gandhi's actions he has an enormous admiration for him and feels that he understands the mass mind of India better than he himself does. I feel that the most important difference between the two leaders is that at bottom the technique of Nehru is that of the revolutionary in all countries. He has the kind of mind that looks for the signs of great secular movements in the world on the tide of which his own movement may ride.

I was interested to find Mr Mathews referring to a fact to which also I can testify the increasing widespread conviction among Indians that there is going to be a first-class European war that Britain is going to be tied up in it, and that it is going to create an entirely new situation. I believe it to be in the background of a good many minds in India. Obviously the revolutionary type of mind looks for such great events to take advantage of them. As I understand the technique of the revolutionary I do think that that is an important element in his make up that he wants to see how he can use the tide in human affairs. Mr Gandhi is a person whose conscience suddenly gets hold of him. He says I have committed an error and proceeds to fast for a month and calls off the entire movement, to the disgust of Nehru.

I would like to say, too, that I think, like everybody else who has spoken, we cannot overestimate the importance of the whole economic issue in India,

You cannot help feeling now that many of the traditional political formulas of India are almost irrelevant, and that India has gone on too long. We have gone on in India talking in the terms of Victorian Liberalism while every other country in the Western world had stopped talking like that. You still find older men in India who are agitated about the success or failure of movements of that kind while the real issues are economic.

I agree with Sir Stanley it is easy to talk about revolution and it is not easy to pull off revolutions with a powerful and centralized Government, and nobody knows what he wants to put in its place. But Nehru obviously favours the large collectivized farm as against the multitudinous small holdings. It seems to me that if you had one or two more bad monsoons, you would be faced with the necessity of taking action in regard to the countryside of that nature, or of finding a revolutionary minded, sullen, and intensely discontented rural population on your hands.

The same thing is true in China. If you take a book like Mr. Tawney's *Land and Labour in China*, you see how he says virtually that he found in China that those Provinces had gone Communist which he would have expected to find going Communist because of the appalling conditions of life. It is most important that all persons of goodwill should combine to try to focus attention on this supreme economic need.

I agree that it is absurd to refer to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald as having decided for communal representation. What is meant, of course, is the Communal Award. It is not only Hindus in Bengal who are critical of the Award. Practically the whole of the representatives of Indian Protestant Christians have systematically objected to the scheme of separate electorates, to which they like others are subject. There are two objections to it from their point of view. One is that on the communal basis there is an inevitable tendency for Government grants and jobs of all sorts to be distributed roughly in proportion to population—55 per cent. of one community, 45 per cent. of another and so on. Ability tends to be forgotten and a body like the Indian Christians who for their size have a large proportion of literacy, tend to suffer, and their young men are bitter about it.

But what I think is more important is the view which the Bishop of Dornakal has urged, that for a body like the Indian Christian Church, which being Christian, cannot surrender the idea of evangelization, it is very difficult to be forced into the position of offering the Christian Gospel to people, and being compelled to say that if they should become Christians they have to vote in a different constituency! The Bishop of Dornakal a long time ago urged publicly in India that to make the religious community coterminous with the political constituency is a very bad thing for religion, and I think all that has happened has abundantly proved his case. The Christian community is a small body but I think it has been more fundamentally affected in the inner springs of its life by this system of Communal representation than any other in India.

Mr. M. N. SEN: I think it is a unique privilege to stand here and say a few words in justification of the Indian youth. I have had the privilege of meeting youth all over the world. I have just come back from America,

where I had been working with the students I met students in China and Japan also

The charge that has been levelled against Indian youth is that they are completely disillusioned I should say that the youth all over the world at this moment are completely disillusioned and they do not know what is the right step to take About the Indian students I just want to say one thing that we are disillusioned because we are uncertain about the future of our country

Speakers have said that the condition of China and India is very much the same now It is not exactly the same. China is trying to retain what she has, and India is going to get back what she has lost That is the difference The position of the youth in China and India is very much the same no doubt, because it is incumbent on youth to bring about the changes they believe in.

About the Indian youth another reason why we are disillusioned is because of our system of education. There is no mention made of that point in Mr Mathews paper The system of education we have today in India is purely cultural and very much on the same lines as the system of education here in the British universities We do not want that today in India We would prefer the system they have in America where the emphasis is laid on the technical side more than the cultural side, because, after all, Indian students must work If India is ever to become a nation among other nations in the world we will have to work, and action must be emphasized more than anything else

What are we doing with this sort of education today with emphasis purely on the cultural side? When we think of a graduate in India, we think of a person who knows English literature or history mostly British or European history, and other purely cultural subjects We have some agricultural colleges, and lately some domestic science colleges and the Lady Irwin Medical College for Women in Delhi But these are recent developments and we want institutions like these to be more prevalent all over India Without technical education we are turning out thousands of graduates every year doing nothing useful They know the problems of their country, but do not know how to solve them

That is why we are completely disillusioned. Unless technical education is emphasized, we will go on just producing graduates with cultural knowledge, fostering the empty legacy of our aristocratic past, and doing nothing on the positive side

Sir MALCOLM SETON I have the very pleasant duty of moving a vote of thanks to Sir Frederick Whyte for coming to preside, and (in his absence) to Mr Mathews for writing such an interesting paper, and to Mr Paton for being so good as to read it and to interpret it to the extent he has done

The hour is late, or there are many things one would like to say about the points raised As regards the point of view of the revolutionary leaders, I was very much struck by Sir Abdul Qadir's metaphor of the engine Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru supplying the motive power and Mahatma Gandhi the brake but, after all, no rails have been laid down on the track on which

that engine is to proceed, and a steering wheel is rather a necessity. That particular aspect remains a problem of the greatest interest.

One point about Mr Mathews' paper that struck me, too, is this. If a paper of that kind had been written and read to us some thirty or forty years ago, I feel certain that the Arya Samaj would have taken a very important part in it. Mr Mathews makes no mention of that. The Arya Samaj undoubtedly excited the greatest enthusiasm for some time and did some remarkable reform and educational work. Have the younger generation become disillusioned, or has it lost its influence since Lajpat Rai died? At any rate, it finds no place in the picture at all.

As regards revolution, I think it would be rather hard to decide offhand whether the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution were due more to political or economic conditions. The essential feature in each was that there was intense and general discontent, and though the men holding the different points of view did not necessarily want to kill the same individuals, those individuals were killed. When you get passions roused, the distinction perhaps is lost sight of.

I am inclined to think that the purely political revolution has passed from the world's history—the revolution which set out merely to take the power of government away from those who held it and give it to other people. There is bound to be an economic strain in any movement of this kind, caused undoubtedly by intense discontent. There is abundance of room for economic discontent in India, and one can only hope that the expressions of opinion made to Mr Mathews are a little on the pessimistic side.

The paper was on trends and personalities. Trends are very much easier to describe than personalities, but I think we are most interested in some of the personal sketches that have been given. I cannot imagine a greater opportunity for personal study than is afforded to a man who, like you, Sir Frederick, has occupied with general approval the President's Chair in an Assembly which contained very remarkable and extremely diverse personalities, and who passed on from that to be the confidential adviser of the Government of China which also has produced most interesting personalities. However, perhaps your lips are sealed!

I think we have had a most interesting discussion. We are certainly indebted to Mrs Rama Rau for giving us the point of view of Indian ladies. We particularly welcome Mr Sen's speech. It is far too seldom that we hear the younger generation here, and a speech of that sort frank and modest, has been most interesting.

I beg to move a vote of thanks to Sir Frederick Whyte, Mr Mathews, and Mr Paton.

**THE CHAIRMAN** I wish to thank you on behalf of Mr Mathews in his absence and Mr Paton in his presence, and of myself for the way you have received this proposition. Attendance at this meeting has been its own reward.

Lest you think I have any other motive for refusing to accept the dangerous challenge offered to me by Sir Malcolm Seton, I will show him the hands of the clock. I will, however, say this. Everybody who has

spoken has emphasized the importance of personality and particularly the importance of a man whom I still know as the younger Nehru. There may be much dispute as to where Pandit Nehru stands in relation to the past, the present or the future of India, in relation to Gandhi and others, but I think we can all say this, that the younger Nehru stands much closer in spirit to Mr. Gandhi than his father, Pandit Motilal Nehru ever did, and it may be that Pandit Motilal would have understood the function of the brake occasionally used by the Mahatma where the younger Nehru would not and perhaps never could. But I think we may be sure of this, too, that there probably would not have been a younger Nehru fashioned just in the mould in which he is, had there not been a Mahatma Gandhi going before him, and that where they may dispute and divide as to the tactics to be adopted by the Indian National Congress at any particular moment, there is no doubt whatever that they enjoy complete unity of spirit and outlook with regard to the future of India and, after all India being one of the most prolific mothers of the world, can we wonder that her sons are diverse?

## INDIA ON THE EVE OF AUTONOMY

BY JOHN COATMAN, C I E

THREE weeks hence the Indian Provinces will start their career as autonomous units. The completion of the full scheme of reforms may be looked for at a not very remote date, but in the meantime the inauguration of this first stage will give the central and provincial governments, and the people of India, quite enough to think about and to do. There is, I believe, a net balance of advantage of carrying out in two stages the immensely complicated and difficult scheme of reforms contained in the Government of India Act of 1935. I think that, had it been possible to inaugurate the scheme of reforms as a whole, there might have been rather less asperity in certain political quarters than there is at present, but on the other hand the administrative difficulties would have been multiplied immensely. Further, it should always be remembered that there is a good deal of adjustment to be made inside the Provinces before they can be said to be in smooth running order. It is very necessary that the Provinces should be in smooth working order before the All India Federation comes into existence—for this reason. The Federation will be the Provinces of British India and the Indian States—an organism deriving its life from these units, having the character and quality which they confer upon it, and being bound in its actions by them. Now, the old Government of India was a very different thing. It was the overlord of the Provinces which, certainly until the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, can hardly be said to have been more than convenient agents through which the Central Government carried on its administration. In future, as far as its own domestic administration is concerned, every Province will have to stand on its own legs. If there is, for example, serious internal friction arising out of some irreconcilable clash of communal or other interests, the Central Government, or later the Federal Government, will not be able to do anything to help,

unless, of course, the state of affairs develops so as to threaten the welfare and good order of other Provinces or of the whole country. Therefore I personally welcome the fact that a period of time must elapse before the Federation can come into existence.

When I was first in the Punjab I often used to meet old veterans of the Sikh wars, who told me stories of days which seemed fantastically remote from those in which I was living. When I contemplate the Government of India Act of 1935, those early days of mine in the Punjab seem to me just as fantastically remote from these days, because in that short space of time—twenty-six years (just over a quarter of a century)—India has, from the point of view of government, become a completely different country. For my first year in India was the first year of the working of the Morley Minto Reforms, which meant that, stripped of all technicalities, the government of an Indian Province was in essence that of a Crown Colony. At the centre, control and authority had not been relaxed in any important part. Moreover, the Morley-Minto Reforms were not meant to be the prelude to anything different. Mr John Morley, as he then was, said quite definitely that these reforms were not meant to be the forerunner of responsible government, and in this he was doing no more than repeating what Mr Gladstone had said before him.

#### THE REQUIRED EQUIPMENT

We all know how quickly constitutional progress and development have proceeded in India during this fateful quarter of a century, but I am not sure if we are always aware of the significance of this speed of motion. Our scientists are making us familiar with the space-time continuum, with time as another dimension. In the same way, in politics we have got to take the pace of our movements into account quite as much as their effects, their cost, and so on. This great jump forward in such a short time will, I believe, inevitably produce strains and stresses of a difficult, perhaps on occasions even of a dangerous, character in the body politic of India. There are some sections—very few, it must be admitted—for whom the pace is too slow, but for the vast majority there is not the slightest doubt that the pace is much



too fast. This is not the time to argue the pros and cons of the forthcoming reforms. It is enough that the great majority of the people of this country believe that the movement of events in the world at large, and the development of opinion and conditions in India and this country, rendered the scheme necessary. But the fact remains that India has now got to begin to work a political constitution of a highly advanced character, with very little of the equipment of all sorts and the political machinery which the efficient working of such a system demands.

To my mind this is one of the most important points to be noticed. In this country we are so familiar with the ubiquitous central and local political party organizations, with a powerful and effective Press—also for the most part with strong party affiliations—and with all the quasi-official and private activities devoted to political education and action, that we take them all for granted. Even the average voter here has a good deal of knowledge of political and economic matters, and in any case the English people as a whole has an ingrained political sense which comes of centuries of political responsibility. The average voter in this country is thus well qualified to choose between particular issues of policy, and in any case he is within easy reach of full information and guidance from his political, trade union, professional, and other associations, and from the wireless and the Press.

There is very little indeed of this in India, and the experience of the recent elections has shown this very clearly. There is only one organized political party in India—that is, as we in this country understand the words—namely, the Congress Party. The party which most nearly approaches it in organization is the Justice Party of Southern India, but that is not an All-India party, nor even does its influence extend over the whole of the south of India. At one time it looked like extending into the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces, but of late years it has receded and has become much weaker even in its original home, Madras. The All-India Liberal Federation and the All-India Muslim League have, to say the least, not functioned as All India political organizations during the recent elections. Mr Jinnah's Muslim Parliamentary Party, which he tried to organize on an

All-India basis, has from one cause or another not fulfilled all the hopes of its promoters, and although there were Mahasabha candidates all over India, for various reasons they cannot be regarded as belonging to any political party. There were, of course, one or two well-organized local parties—for example, the Unionist Party in the Punjab, and the National Agriculturist Party in the United Provinces—but these again had neither appeal nor affiliations outside their own provincial boundaries, and had but few counterparts elsewhere. The new "People's Party" in Madras had no solid support and has been swept away at the elections. Labour, too, is hardly organized, and, whatever it may become in future, is certainly not at present a political factor of any importance. Even the depressed classes cannot present a united front for political purposes. As for quasi-official and unofficial organizations, clubs, and the like, for all practical political purposes they do not exist.

#### THE NEWSPAPER PRESS

The position is no better when we turn to the Press. The Congress and extreme Nationalist organs speak with one voice, but they are using arguments pertaining to conditions which have long passed away. The remainder of the Press, too, has for the most part failed to understand, or at any rate to deal with, the real problems and conditions which now face the people of India. I must admit that I have been disappointed in the Press campaign. There has been far too much repetition of outworn shibboleths, and too much concentration on particular and personal interests. Moreover, there are no great national newspapers in India. None of them are read widely over the whole country, and indeed very few of them go outside the boundaries of their linguistic area if they are vernacular papers, or outside their own province if they are printed in English. Moreover, their circulations are grotesquely small from our point of view. A regular issue of twenty thousand would be regarded as a very big circulation indeed by an Indian newspaper.

It is worth our while to ponder this feature of the situation very carefully, because whatever the critics of the Indian reforms

may say, they do embody a democratic constitution, and the successful working of democratic institutions depends first and foremost on all the things which we have just been discussing. I believe that the development of political life in India, particularly after the Federation comes into existence, will produce real All-India political parties, will give a stimulus to local political activities, and will in course of time lead to the effective organization of economic groups, particularly urban industrial labour, and, finally, will profoundly modify the character and organization of the newspaper press. But certainly these are all tasks which will have to be undertaken specifically because, as things are at present, there are more opportunities than are desirable for the exploitation of the mass of voters by particular interests or even individuals.

#### THE COMMUNAL QUESTION

Another insistent question forces itself on our minds when we contemplate the working of the new constitution, and that is the question of the future of inter-communal relations. To an audience like this there is no need to go into details of the Communal Settlement, the Poona Pact, the continuous negotiations which have gone on between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal and elsewhere, the Sikh problem in the Punjab, and the like, for they are all familiar to you, but it is obvious that in the Punjab and Bengal, at any rate, the final distribution of seats between the different communities and interests is such as to carry with it the possibilities of trouble in the future. That it has given cause for serious discontent to the Hindus in those two provinces is, of course, common knowledge. Anybody who sat through the sessions of the Round Table Conference, who had any share in the administration of India under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and who has kept in touch with the position during recent months, may be pardoned for entertaining fears in regard to the future of communal relations in India. I personally believe that these fears will be found to be largely unfounded. There have been no important armed clashes between the partisans of the two great communities for some time, and there is every reason to hope that the bitter internecine warfare, which stained the his-

tory of the country between, say, 1924 and 1930, is a thing of the past. Recent developments in both Bengal and the Punjab hold out some hopes at any rate of concerted political action on the part of the leaders of the two communities, even in the two provinces where the reform shoe may be said to pinch the most. Indeed, some foreshadowing of these future developments may be seen in the organization of the Unionist Party in the Punjab, and the Tenants Party in Bengal, both of which have Hindu adherents and support.

I at any rate have always maintained that the real solution to the Hindu Muslim problem was precisely the solution which we are now offering—namely, the grant of real political power to the Provinces. For, whatever old animosities there may have been, or whatever present grievances may exist, the actual working of the constitution will force the two communities into each other's arms. A Muhammadan prime minister will have to have Hindu support; a Hindu prime minister will have to have Muslim support. And this means that narrow, communal policies will be politically and practically impossible. Moreover, ministers will all the time be dealing with measures which affect all communities and sections of their provinces, and will, as a matter of necessity, have to develop the habit of thinking, if we may put it so, non-communally. In other words, the day-to-day working of a constitution such as is now about to be introduced will make merely communal considerations irrelevant to the issues which come up, and in any case the mere routine of getting their measures through the house will gradually force on ministers a policy of toleration and equity towards all communities and interests alike. This is made all the more certain by the extreme lack of cohesion revealed by these elections amongst the Muslims of every Province except the Punjab. Therefore on this side of the new constitution I am not pessimistic.

#### THE CONGRESS

The next important question which claims our attention is the part to be played by the Congress Party. This, of course, is subject to much comment in the English Press in these days—com

ment which, as far as some of the less responsible journals are concerned, would be much better omitted. To begin with, it is not particularly easy to assess the exact extent of Congress successes at the recent elections. As far as mere numbers go, we know that they have over 40 per cent. of the seats, that they have absolute majorities in six provinces, and that, outside the Punjab, they are well represented everywhere. But this, of course, is not the whole story. There are an appreciable number of candidates who got themselves returned on the Congress ticket who are not Congressmen, and will maintain an independent attitude. But far more important than this is the question of how far the real Congressmen are going to act in unison. We all know, of course, the resolution which was passed at the latest session of the All-India National Congress, and we also know that many Congressmen, some of them men of importance, have not accepted that resolution, and if we turn over in our minds the history of the Congress Party from its beginning as the Swaraj Party, in early Montagu Chelmsford days, we have much justification for adopting a cautious attitude for the moment with regard to its future action.

For, to put it very broadly, the history of the Congress Party since the elections of 1923 has been one of successive splits on the questions first of entry into the legislative bodies, and secondly of the policy to be adopted—constructive or destructive—inside them. The late Mr C. R. Das carried Congress with him against Mr Gandhi on the question of entry into the councils, and later there were important secessions, particularly of the Maharashtra group, on the question of wrecking the reforms, or co-operating with the Government in nation-building activities. Still later there was the split over Lord Irwin's famous announcement of November 1, 1929, and participation in the Round-Table Conference. Later still, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's Communist policy led to another split, and now, as we know, the old question of entry or non-entry, wrecking or non-wrecking, is once more disturbing the minds of the party leaders. At any rate, we may say that there is not likely to be complete unanimity on these questions. But will the Congressmen enter the provincial assemblies in any

numbers, and what will their attitude be when they get inside? Here again I think we can apply to past experience for guidance. I think that one of the few results of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms which cannot be doubted was the shifting of the central political gravity of India to the legislative bodies. With each month that passed after the beginning of the first sessions of these bodies in 1921, it became increasingly clear that, whatever might be done in the way of sound and fury outside, no influence could be exercised—no constructive influence, that is—on national or provincial policies and programmes except from inside the legislatures. This was a lesson that had been learnt by the time of the 1923 elections, when the old Swaraj Party decided to contest the elections. It was reinforced after the Swarajist walk-out of the Legislative Assembly in 1926, when they were forced to return to their seats for the Simla session of the same year, in order to contest Sir Basil Blackett's Currency Stabilization Bill. This was a most instructive incident, because the Congress leaders were forced by the pressure of public opinion, particularly in Bombay, to resume their seats in the assembly against their will. The same lesson was drawn from the temporary suspensions of the constitutions in Bengal and the Central Provinces owing to Congress action in refusing to vote supplies.

Then, too, the experience of the Congress Party's tactics between their entering the Legislative Assembly at the Delhi session of 1924, and their walk-out in 1926, was very instructive. They, of course, went in to carry out their policy of wrecking the constitution from within, but very soon found themselves forced to vote with the Government on the Steel Bill, and when afterwards they tried to throw out the Finance Bill, many of their allies, and notably Mr Jinnah and his Independents, revolted and left them in a position of numerical inferiority, in which they could do nothing more than obstruct and delay. The truth is that, even inside the Congress Party, there has been from the beginning a section which would not follow the leaders in their most extreme policies, and I can see no reason why experience should not repeat itself, and the most extreme sections of the party be left, if they choose, to plough the sands, whilst their less

extreme colleagues either enjoy the fruits of office, or look forward to doing so on some future occasion

### THE ELECTIONS

I am inclined to see some confirmation of this, let me say, very guarded optimism when I review the election manifestos put out by Congress candidates during the recent elections. Strangely enough, the purely anti-British attitude is not prominent, nor is any general stress laid on the desirability of entering the legislatures in order to wreck them from within. Instead, candidates have concentrated very largely on promises to their electors of the economic and other benefits which they will confer on them if they are successful at the polls. I cannot help thinking that this shows at any rate a subconscious acceptance of the position, that election will be followed by entry into the legislatures, and, where Congress is in a majority, by acceptance of office. It should be noted that many of the Independents who have been returned will either not throw in their lot with the Congress Party in the legislatures, or, if they do, will leave them sooner or later. This again is a lesson from experience. On the whole, therefore, I am not inclined to regard the position left by the elections as catastrophic.

At the same time, I am not minimizing its seriousness. The Congress Party have got a majority in more than half the provinces, and whether they take office or not, the position is not going to be easy for the provincial governments. It is possible, of course, that in one or two of the provinces Congress members will refuse to form and support a ministry in sufficient numbers to put any ministry that is formed in the minority. If this happens, however, it will simply mean that the inauguration of the new constitution in those provinces will be deferred until, as the newspapers say, wiser counsels prevail. The more probable danger which I foresee is that the Congress Party will take office and try to put through policies which are quite impossible. Let us, as a purely hypothetical case, suppose that the cabinet in one province should decide to reduce the land revenue to twenty per cent. of its present level, or to abolish the water rate, or to cut down the

number of police by half and reduce their pay to eight rupees a month. All these things would find favour in the eyes of many people, and it may be that some such suggestions, though perhaps not so extreme as these, will be made by some minister or ministers. In such a case as this I think the immediate situation would certainly be embarrassing to the governor. A fierce agitation would be developed in certain sections of the local press, and there might be a good deal of talk in district headquarters, tehsil towns, and so on. But ultimately I think the logic of facts would right the position. The ministers of education and public hygiene and law and order, for example, would point out to their financial colleague that if he cut down provincial revenues they would have to cut down their activities very largely. This would not only enrage the electorate, which had been looking forward to all sorts of developments from them, but would incidentally throw scores of thousands of useful voters out of employment, all of them voters, moreover, belonging to influential classes, each of whom could probably sway many votes at the next election.

I cannot help thinking, therefore, that even if such extremist policies as these came to the point of discussion in the provincial assembly, the practical aspects of the matter could be made sufficiently widely known among the members of the assembly and the general public to prevent them from doing very much harm. I repeat that I am not taking an easy, optimistic view in saying these things. I know that difficult situations will arise, but the constitution out of which these situations will arise is, as I have said, a real democratic constitution, in which it will never be very easy for any party, however extreme, to bring about a simple head-on collision between themselves and the Government, because if the party in question is in power, it will itself have the initiation and carrying out of Government policy, and the suggestion that any body of men should take office for the main purpose of producing anarchy and dislocation in their own province will be found to be absurd. The dangers which will arise will be more subtle than this.



### FINANCIAL ASPECTS

I have no intention of venturing into the thorny thickets of finance, but there are one or two general remarks which might be made on this subject. We all remember what a heavy handicap financial stringency proved to be in the early days of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and how much unwarranted suspicion was caused by the provincial finance departments' quite justified tight hold on the purse-strings. Now, of course, the finance department will be no longer a reserved department in charge of an official, but will form a minister's portfolio. Thus one cause for suspicion and ill-feeling will fall to the ground. But the change of control will not affect the size of the revenue, and, as far as we can see at present, ministers in every province will have to go somewhat slowly at first. Nevertheless, the future prospects of provincial finance have some gleams of hope. Bengal, of course, is happy in getting a share of the jute tax, and ultimately all provinces will benefit, to a varying degree of course, by the new allocation of income tax receipts. But there are other ways in which provincial financial administration may be helped and strengthened. I speak with due deference to the distinguished members of my audience who have themselves handled provincial finances, and I am, of course, doing no more than give my own views. But I have felt for a long time that provincial developments of various kinds should be speeded up and assisted generally to a greater extent than in the past by borrowing. I have no doubt, however, that provincial chancellors of the exchequer will pay full attention to this in future. Then, too, I think that there is scope for the financing of certain kinds of development by means of betterment taxes. Far be it from me even to mention the words "taxation of agricultural income," or the revision of the thrice sacrosanct Permanent Settlement. It is not we, the old officials, who will have to deal with these matters now.

All I am concerned with is to indicate certain possible lines of financial amelioration with a view to pointing out that, as far as the all-important question of money is concerned, the future may

be much less unpromising than the present. This is a view which is reinforced by the present trend of world prices, which ought to benefit India particularly. I think there is no doubt at all that we have entered on a cycle of rising prices of both primary and secondary products. One of India's great troubles in the post-war period has been the gap between the price of her primary produce and the price of the manufactured articles which she had to import, but this gap should diminish, and in any case the benefits which will accrue to India from the rising prices of her produce and her increasing output of both export and consumers' goods of all kinds will have beneficial results on the income tax, with corresponding beneficial results to the provinces.

I have now covered most of what I conceive to be the outstanding features of the situation in India on the eve of autonomy. You will notice that I have said nothing about safeguards. I have left them out because I have always believed that the safeguards will not be of much practical importance in the new constitution. Certainly they can never be a customary feature of it, because constant use of them would destroy both the safeguards themselves and the constitution. I hope to see them, before many years have passed, relegated to the museum of political antiquities. There is nothing I would like better than to indulge in a few speculations as to the probable composition of the cabinets in provinces like the North-West Frontier and Bengal, where the situation as left by the elections is, to say the least, intriguing. But these, after all, would only be speculations. I am afraid there has been a good deal of speculation in what I have said already but at any rate in preparing this paper I have drawn on personal experience of Indian politics, which for me will always retain their attraction. I am quite certain that ministers, British officials, members of the legislatures, and the governors between them will, if you will pardon the colloquialism, make a job of provincial autonomy. Then later on they and the Princes and their people will have the supreme task of making and working the All India Federation, and I for one can think of no greater happiness than having a part in that great enterprise.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster S W 1 on Tuesday March 9, 1937, when a paper entitled *India on the Eve of Autonomy* was read by Mr John Coatman C I E. The Right Hon. Viscount Halifax P C, K C G C S I, G C I E, was in the Chair and his introductory address was broadcast in the Empire and United States programme, and partly repeated in the home news bulletin at night. The following ladies and gentlemen amongst others were present.

The Right Hon Lord Lamington G C M G, G C I E, Sir Firozkhan Noon, the Viscountess Halifax C I, Sir Louis Dane G C I E C S I, and Lady Dane, Sir James MacKenna, C I E Sir Hugh McPherson, K C I E, C S I, Sir Abdul Qadir Sir Hubert Carr, K C I E Sir Reginald Spence, Sir Alfred Chatterton C I E, Diwan Bahadur Sir A Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir Leonard Reynolds, K C I E, C S I, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Wheeler K C S I, K C I E, Sir Alan Parsons K C I E Sir Reginald Mant, K C S I K C I E, Sir Thomas Ainscough, C B E, and Miss Ainscough, Sir Miles Irving C I E, O B E and Lady Irving Sir Michael O Dwyer G C I E, K C S I, Lady Blackett, Colonel Sir Cusack Walton, Sir Charles Tegart C S I, C I E, Sir Charles Cunningham, C I E., Sir Walter Willson Lady Dawson, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir George Anderson C S I C I E, Sir Henry Sharp C S I, C I E, Colonel Sir Gordon Hearn, C I E, Lieut-General Sir Edwin Atkinson, K B E C B, C M G, C I E, and Lady Atkinson, Lady Hartog, Mr R A Butler, M P Mr Hugh Molson, Mr F J P Richter, Mr H M R Hopkins, C S I, Mr J R Martin, C I E, Mr and Mrs T A H Way, Mr H M Willmott, Mr H S L Polak, Mr J J Nolan, Lieut-Colonel W G Hamilton, Mr R W Brock, Mr Kenneth C. Keymer, Mrs B D Berry, Miss Berry and Master Berry Lieut Colonel A S Hamilton, Mrs Weir, Mr G F K. Adams, Dr and Mrs Kalra, Mr K K Lalkaka, Mr Rupchand Bilaram, Mrs Gordon Neale, Mr W F Westbrook, Mr R C Lai, Mr Frederick Grubb, Miss E. Richard Mrs. Mallannah, Mr Dewan Sharar, Mr A B Rudra, Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Mr W F J Frank, Mr H R. McCallum, Mr B N Tagore, Mrs Barns, Mr Massood Yazdani, Mrs G G Sim, Mr M N Sen, Miss Leeson, Rev and Mrs E. S Carr, Mr J W P Chuchele, Miss L. M Gunter, Mrs Hooper, Mr P N Mathur, Dr Abdul Aziz Puri, Mr Bool Chand, Mr K. A. Chishti, Mr Rupchand Sitaram, Mr W E Griffith Mr R K Sorabji, Mr Ghulam Qadir Khan Dr Felix Valji Mr Syed M Syedulla Miss C E Parsons, Mr M Acton, Miss K Speechley Professor and Mrs Jeules, Miss F Blackett, Miss E Coleman, Mrs Dantra, Mr N Singh, Mr J D Shupla Mr R S Kapur, Miss Agatha Harrison, Mr Alexander C Wilson, Mr A Watts Colonel Pritchard, Mr B D Sanwal Mr G N Durvedi Lieut-Colonel W J Hasnett, Mr B M Piplan, Mrs Lewis, and Mr F H Brown, C I E, Hon. Secretary

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said

The East India Association are indeed fortunate in persuading Professor

Coatman to address us this afternoon on the subject of India, to which country he has given twenty years of unremitting service, and about which no one is more qualified to speak.

For, on April 1, India, marching along the parallel roads of democracy and self-government, will make a great advance towards the constitutional goal that lies before her. Far freer thenceforth from the control of the British Government she will enjoy in each of her eleven Provinces, some of them comparable in size and population with the great sovereign States of Europe, a form of self government based on those parliamentary institutions which she has long set before herself as her model.

Less than a generation ago the gradual spread of democracy throughout the civilized world seemed as natural and inevitable as it seemed right. The state of much of the world today may appear to suggest that the tide has turned. There are some who say, on a superficial view, that democracy is now on its trial—some, indeed, who say that it has been tried already and found wanting. And there are those who ask why India, that great country of the East, firm rooted in ancient traditions of undemocratic caste and autocracy, the meeting-ground of many races and of many creeds should at such a moment, be made the field of a far reaching experiment in this dubious dogma of democracy.

But that is not our view nor India's. With our own political faith drawn from our traditions and confirmed by our experience it would have been impossible for Englishmen to sponsor any other than a democratic form of government in India. No less impossible would it have been for Indians, steeped in the literature and history and institutions of our country. It was doubtless this that moved His Imperial Majesty King George V, in his proclamation on the inauguration of the Reforms of 1919, to say that the Indian desire for political responsibility had its roots in the British connection with India.

No! Neither in England nor in India is faith in democracy on the wane. We do not admit that democracy compared with other systems of government, is weak in principle. Rather do we believe, and believe steadfastly, that where democracy has failed, that failure can almost invariably be traced to efforts to attempt too much either in too short a time or in the wrong way. Therefore in planning India's constitutional advance, Indians and Englishmen, in joint council have drawn upon all their resources of experience and judgment to ensure, as far as lies in human power, that the progress of democratic self-government shall be regulated according to India's needs and manifold conditions. Englishmen and Indians have long bent themselves to the problem, and I believe with all my heart that success has been theirs.

But let me be frank. There are Englishmen—and among them some who have served India with long and faithful service—who are doubtful not so much of the rightness of the road on which we are travelling, as of the pace with which we are covering the ground. And there are Indians equally sincere in their faith in the ultimate goal who belittle the advance that is being made and chafe at the stages that have still to be travelled. Many of those who so judge are as sincere lovers of India as you or I, and it would

be as ill-advised of us to depreciate their importance as to exaggerate it. But if they would only look at the matter through the right end of the telescope—and I am still speaking of Indians and Englishmen both—I am sure that they would realize more clearly, more truly, the nature of the changes that are now to take place.

For what are those changes? For many years India has enjoyed some measure of parliamentary institutions. Though they did not afford full opportunity for responsibility, they provided her politicians with ample opportunities for criticizing policy and ventilating opinion. In the absence of responsibility that criticism tended all too often to be negative. But what Englishman, with any political instinct in him, needs to be reminded of the tempering influence of responsibility? In the new Provincial Legislative Councils responsibility will have full scope for its salutary influence. Parties that lack a practical and constructive programme and do not act in a spirit of responsibility will speedily be exposed as having failed in their duty towards those who supported them, and will assuredly be so judged.

For responsible government will now cover the whole field of provincial administration—law and order, health, education, and nearly everything else that affects the daily life and livelihood of the people. Over all these vital matters Ministers responsible to an elected legislature will have authority, subject alone to the intervention of the Governor representing the Crown, only to be exercised if by some mischance the policy of Ministers were to fail to take due account of obligations which in India as elsewhere must be fulfilled if the interests of the community as a whole, are to be secured. Subject only to this reserve of authority in the hands of the Governor (which need, in fact, never come into actual exercise) the Provinces henceforward will have full power to regulate their own concerns. The problems that will confront the Ministers are many and pressing, and no one who knows the conditions will seek to minimize their difficulty. Fortunately, there is an increasing awareness in India of what needs to be done and an increasing determination to get it done. Among the politicians there is no dearth of public spirit or capacity. In the Services there is a spirit of readiness to adjust themselves to changed conditions. All that is needed for success is a measure of tolerance and good will without which no Constitution can work satisfactorily or for long.

It is a little difficult to realize that, less than a generation ago, all executive authority and all responsibility for policy lay in official hands, and that the electorate has grown within a generation from practically nothing to over thirty million. A few weeks ago that electorate went to the poll in huge numbers and in as orderly fashion as in countries whose political advancement is universally recognized. Some may see in the success of the Congress Party at the polls an ominous fulfilment of their forebodings. I had rather see in this success of the largest organized party in India—organized, that is, as we in England understand political organization—an augury for the development of political institutions in India. For remember this. In all true democracies the Opposition party or parties in the Legislature play an important, indeed, an indispensable, rôle in the working of the representative system. In those extreme forms of government which lie on either side of

the representative system, all points of view but that of the party in power are suppressed. In a true democracy the expression of different opinions is not merely tolerated but promoted. The Opposition not only criticizes, its function is to present the possibility of an alternative Government, and all the while it prepares itself for the task. Therefore it is that those who do not share the views of the party in power are none the less called on to play their part in government. There is not a choice between supine acquiescence and subversive conspiracy. And it is no mere play of words or courtesy that we in democratic England speak not only of His Majesty's Government, but also of His Majesty's Opposition.

We are, indeed, on the eve of a momentous change in the Provinces in India—a transfer of power, not final, it is true, nor complete, yet in its mass of huge dimensions designed as the prelude to a measure of federal self-government at the centre, whereby India will be welded, as never before in her long history into a unity of three hundred and forty million people. It is a change such as no patriotic Indian of the last generation, however ardent his hopes, could have expected to witness, a change probably greater than has ever occurred as a single stage of development in the peaceful evolution of any country. Revolution might indeed effect greater changes and cause a larger measure of power to pass at a single stage into hands imperfectly prepared to receive it. Of that the lamentable consequences are only too visible in the world today. But evolution, not revolution, is the sovereign rule of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the secret of its vitality.

I know well how deeply men in India are moved by patriotic feeling to look jealously at any Constitution which seems in any way to fall short of their full aspirations. I think I understand their thought at its best; it readily evokes an answering note of sympathy in our own. None the less, I would hope that those who feel thus will be not unwilling to recognize England's warm desire to promote the essential conditions of Indian progress. Nor can I believe that if they strike a true balance of loss and gain for India they will be false to these clamant opportunities of service to their Motherland which now lie before them.

I fear that I have kept you over long from Professor Coatman, whom we are to be privileged to hear this afternoon. He hardly needs an introduction to any British audience and certainly little or none to the members of this Association, which has so long and so closely been concerned with the welfare of the inhabitants of India. For Professor Coatman served India and the Empire in India faithfully for twenty years and like all those whose work has brought them into relation with that great country he has come under her spell and has devoted himself to her welfare. Moreover, he has given particular study to the economic relations of the British Empire. He is the author of a work, *Magna Britannia* which is destined, I believe, to become a standard authority upon that important subject.

Mr Coatman is of that fortunate few who have the art of breathing life and interest into whatever they touch. He has even descended into the valley of economics and made its dry bones live. But this afternoon he has something far from the dust to talk about—India and the vital problem of her form of government. We shall not only hear something that will instruct us,

but, unlike so many lessons, also enjoy every moment of our instruction.  
(Loud cheers.)

(The paper was then read.)

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON, who was first asked to speak, said My Lord Chairman,—I am very grateful to you for having done me the honour of asking me to say a few words on a question which is of vital importance to my country. First of all I should like to congratulate Lord Halifax on the lucid and fair manner in which he has placed before us the constitutional position in India today. I am sure that when those remarks are read on the other side of the Indian Ocean both supporters and opponents of Government will have nothing but appreciation of the kindly and fair manner in which he has treated the subject. I should also like to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of all present here to Lord Halifax's tenure of office as Viceroy of India. His generous policy towards the political prisoners in India and in releasing them once or twice to give them a chance to work for the good of the country was really responsible for winning over for the Government a very large section of people who might be considered to be sitting on the fence. I think, secondly that another great achievement of Lord Halifax in India was in successfully persuading Mahatma Gandhi to come to the Round Table Conference. When the Constitutional history of India is written in future years, Lord Halifax's period of Viceroyalty will stand out as epoch making. His great statesmanship and true sympathy for Indian aspiration have won for him an unrivalled position in our hearts.

I am very delighted to meet Mr. Coatman here this afternoon particularly as I had the pleasure of knowing him in India. I met him many times in India digging into Government files and books of reference and writing reports, and if there is anyone suited to deal with this subject with first hand knowledge, Mr. Coatman is certainly that one. Like the wise sort of man he is, he has given us in his paper both the pros and cons of the subject. He has neither been too optimistic nor very pessimistic. But on the whole I think an impression may be left on the minds of certain people that Mr. Coatman does not entertain such great hopes about the future success of the Constitution in India as we might wish him and the public here to have.

I would like to draw your attention to one or two important points. First he referred to the fact that the electorate were ignorant and not able to read the papers. It is quite true that they do not read papers and that they are illiterate. That is because there is no general education on the scale you know here and they have not the money to buy newspapers, but it is not correct to say that they do not take a keen interest in the elections. If you study the figures of those who have gone to the polls, you will find that between 70 and 95 per cent. of the villagers walked to the polls to record their vote. So it is not right to say that the electorate in India are not alive to political questions. I was only the other day reading a poster sent to me by a prominent man in London who was protesting against the lethargy of the ratepayers in the London County Council elections. I was astonished to see in that poster that no less than 60 per cent. of the voters in the best

educated town in the world refrained from going to the polls. If that is so in the heart of the Empire, then Mr Coatman cannot blame my poor country for not taking sufficient interest in the elections, even if that were true. (Laughter and cheers)

Secondly Mr Coatman expresses some fears as to the communal differences in India. I concede that there have been communal differences, but I think it is wrong and unfair to my country to compare the India of today with the England of today. May I draw his attention to a little bit of the past history of England where people belonging to the same religion, Protestants and Roman Catholics used to murder each other with greater vigour than we are doing in India. At Oxford the other day I passed the Martyrs Memorial which commemorates that distressing period. I do not think we need be much alarmed about the communal differences in India. Mr Coatman was right when he said that when there are Hindu and Muslim Ministers in the Cabinet in charge of law and order, they will have to put their heads together if they are to run their Government successfully. I think you need have no very serious fears of our breaking our heads over religious differences. In every country there must be differences of opinion. If we did not quarrel over religious matters we would quarrel over something else. The present-day economic and political differences of opinion will take a lot of beating when compared with our religious differences.

On the second of this month I had the pleasure of going to Cambridge and on the fifth to go to Oxford. The reason was that I read in the newspapers that Lord Halifax had been addressing English boys in a certain public school, and Lord Willingdon had similarly addressed English boys in another institution, with regard to prospects in the Indian Civil Service. I felt that evidently there was some disinclination on the part of those English boys to go to India, and if their qualms were to be set at rest perhaps they would like to know also how the Indian mind works, so I volunteered to go and speak to them. After the discussion at Oxford a very interesting question was put to me. One of the students said that on account of the last war we had to give the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to India, and now if there is another war in Europe, as there is likely to be (which we fervently hope will not be the case), we shall be forced to give India complete dominion status and where will the members of the I.C.S. in India be? That is a very interesting question and I hope I shall be able to give you an answer that will satisfy you. I think his fear was that if the extreme political leaders came into power, they would not handle the Service well. I gave him the instance of the Punjab, where I worked as a Minister for ten years. One of my friends, who as an ordinary member was the worst critic of the hydro-electric Department, to our good fortune was asked by the Governor to become a Minister with that Department in his portfolios. Colonel Beatty, who was in charge of the construction work, came to me and said, 'Look at this the Governor has thrown me and my work into the jaws of a tiger who will tear us to pieces what am I to do?' I said,

Wait and see. After a little while I said to him, What about it? He said, 'I am delighted with the Minister in charge. I could not have a better defender. He is my best friend. I went over to my colleague the Minister



and said, "What is this, that from a tiger you have turned into a lamb? He said, On the Opposition bench I did not have all the facts before me, and I did not see these things as I see them now

I am almost certain, and I am hoping, that the Congress leaders will take office in India, because when they do take office responsibility will dawn upon them. They will be able to see political problems and administrative difficulties from the angle of vision that the administrator has had to see them up to now. It is very easy to criticize administration when you have not to suffer the consequences of any action that may be taken. I rather sympathize with the Congress leaders for this reason. When they are out of office it is very easy for them to say, All right, we will make trouble for this Government, and to start a no-tax campaign. It is easy because their actions lead them into no difficulties. But once they have accepted office and the burden of administration is on their shoulders, if they say no payment of taxes, how are they to run their Government? If they go into office, they have got to co-operate and take all the stock the present Government can hand them over. If they do not take office, the country will say We gave them our votes and they are not prepared to take responsibility. When the country has shown that the Congress have its confidence, how can they refuse office? I think it will be in the best interests of the country that the Congress leaders should take office and once they do so they will prove no less friendly towards the Services than my colleague was to Colonel Beary.

One further thing I want to say is this that the strength of the British Empire today lies in the fact that she has the consent of the majority of the Indian people with her. People criticize the British Government for ruling that country irresponsibly. I say that it is an insult to India to suggest that the vast majority of a people do not like a system and yet they cannot get rid of it. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that if the majority of the people in India today were to turn against Government, it would be impossible for Government to run the administration. I see doubts expressed about the past connection of the British people with India, and that is mainly because most of the people here do not know what this connection has meant for India. You have only to compare what British India is today with the neighbouring countries where there has been no British connection. I do not wish to take you into details because sometimes comparisons are odious and are not liked, but I leave it to you to think for yourselves. Look round India on the map of the world and see other countries where the people are more or less the same as we are. See at what stage of political progress they are and where we are today. Look at it from the Indian point of view. There is within India a part where the British connection and British tradition has not meant what it has meant in British India. You can judge for yourselves as to whether the record of your administration in India is such that you may rightly be proud of it. By the granting of the 1919 Reforms the foundations of the British Empire were laid more firmly than ever in India, for it is only by giving way to the just demands of the people at the right moment that you can keep them on your side. I am certain that by granting this further step in 1935 the British Empire will be made more

firm than ever, and I long to see the day when India will be a full partner within the Empire. From that day the British Empire will be more powerful than ever. I have great pleasure in acknowledging the debt we owe to this connection, and we feel justly proud of it (Cheers)

SIR MICHAEL O DWYER I think the Council of the East India Association is to be congratulated on the choice of a subject so opportune for this lecture and also on the selection of a lecturer so competent. I had the greater pleasure in listening to him, as I agreed with a great deal of what he said as regards past events, and also because he was one of my officers in the old days of the Punjab. He said he had not much use for safeguards, but I remember in a time of great crisis he was one of my most valuable safeguards in quelling a rising of the Muslim peasantry against the Hindu money lenders. He has done a great deal to explain to us the state of parties and of politics on the eve of the great change that is about to take place, and he has thrown much light on many obscure points.

There are two things which I wish he had developed a little more fully, and I hope he will do so in his concluding remarks. They are the complete collapse of the moderate Liberal Party, chiefly Hindu, in the recent elections, and the extraordinary triumph of the Congress. Both of these, though not unexpected by some of us here, have come to many as a shock and a disappointment. At the Round Table Conferences and Joint Committees English statesmen who had not had previous experience of India considered that these very able gentlemen represented the views of India and were in fact, the Voice of India. The scheme was very largely based on their advice in the hope that when the scheme went through those gentlemen who had done so much in framing it would be found able and willing to work it. The warnings that they had little influence in India were ignored. Now what has happened? They have all disappeared—sunk without trace. Some of us expected that result, but it means that some of the ablest men in India have been thrown out by the Congress Extremists. Their disappearance is a great loss, and to my mind it will mean very serious difficulty in working the new Constitution.

The second point is the sweeping triumph of the Congress. That, too, came as a shock to many people, though not unexpected by some of us who have followed recent events in India and knew that Congress organization, with its anti British appeal and its promise of a new heaven and a new earth, was the only one with roots spreading all over India and recently even in the villages. But whatever the causes are—and the lecturer has dwelt on them to some extent—the appeal to the agrarian population has been the most potent. As a result the Congress now has an overwhelming majority in five provinces, a small majority in one province. Bombay, is the strongest political party in three other provinces. Only in the Punjab (which usually saves the situation) and Sind the Congress is in a negligible minority. In areas inhabited by over 170 millions of people the Congress is dominant, for over 60 millions of people in Bengal, Assam, and the North West Frontier it is the strongest party, and in over 30 millions it is of little account. The Congress now has two courses open. It can either stand outside, as hitherto,

and wreck the Government in those six provinces by its majority turning out any alternative Government that may be formed, or it can come in and establish a Government of its own, as it has been invited to do.

The Congress so far is pledged to the wrecking policy, but let us hope that if the Congress do come in and take office they will behave reasonably, as Sir Firozkhan Noon expects, and be good boys. But what he said is based on his experience as a tried and loyal Minister in the Punjab. The Punjab people compared with the rest of India are less emotional, more hard-headed, more controlled. The Punjab electorate consists mainly of sturdy peasant proprietors, and they include hundreds of thousands of ex-soldiers—men who have seen the world and have a sense of order and discipline. In those six provinces where the Congress has triumphed and the Hindus are in the vast majority, the same sobering influences do not exist. Therefore, because the Punjab has formed what I believe will be a stable government, giving adequate representation to the Hindu and Sikh minorities, I do not think it follows necessarily that the provinces where the Congress dominates will follow the wise example of the Punjab. The Congress is today top-dog for two-thirds of British India, and we can only hope, as the lecturer hopes, that the bark of the dog will prove to be worse than its bite. We must be prepared for disorder and even a breakdown.

It is an advantage, I think, that things have come to a head at this stage while the British Government has still a certain amount of prestige and strength left, and there is still a fairly strong British element in the Services, so that if a crash does come we have got the means of pulling ourselves together. And let me say that if the crash comes, outside the Punjab, we shall have to depend on ourselves if we want to retain our position of partnership in India.

This was illustrated by an incident at a hunt in Ireland when a friend of the speaker's, a fat man with short legs, was riding a big horse. He was thrown off when his horse refused at a brook. He asked a passing farm hand to help him up. 'I will not,' said the latter, and, 'Why not?'

Because you were there a minute ago, and why the devil didn't you stay there? (Laughter.) The moral of this is that if we do not retain our position by our own efforts we cannot expect the people of India to help us to regain a position we have thrown away. They will reply, 'You were there a minute ago, and why the devil didn't you stay there?'

LORD HALIFAX, after expressing the pleasure it always gave to listen to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, whether one was in agreement with his views or not, said he much regretted the necessity to leave the meeting, and he would ask Lord Lamington, the President of the Association, to take his place.

LORD LAMINGTON said: I very much regret that Lord Halifax has to leave us, but I am sure you have appreciated his presence here this afternoon on this very important occasion. Owing to other calls I could not be present when Mr. Coatman spoke, but I have had the pleasure of reading his address, and I think it is a very valuable one. I hope his views will bear good fruit and prove very useful. I will now ask Mr. Molson to speak to us.

Mr HUGH MOLSON I hardly expected that Sir Michael O Dwyer would *manage to adopt the same robust optimism that the three previous speakers have maintained in the face of what I think is to all of us a very great disappointment—that so many Indian leaders who have in the last few years shown courage and responsibility should have been defeated in the elections under the new Constitution* I personally share the views of Mr Coatman that this is the high-water mark of the Congress successes, and that within a very short time we shall see the Congress Party breaking up We have actually had for a long time a two-party system in India There has been the British Government on the one side, and you have had organizing themselves on the other side under the name of the Congress Party all those who in any way were opposed to the British administration. As long as it was possible for them to combine in opposition to what they denounced as an alien bureaucracy, it was possible for them to obscure the fact that those who *followed them were deeply divided on all questions other than the one which they chose to put in the foreground* Bombay industrialists who wished for high protection were able to get support from representatives of Bengal who had to pay higher prices for their commodities for the benefit of the Bombay industrialists. You have had others who, like Mr Gandhi, wished to maintain in India the old traditions, while also in the Congress Party you had others who were most anxious for a progressive policy These heterogeneous groups can co-operate only in opposition

Now that one party—the British bureaucracy—is withdrawing from the political field, it seems to me inevitable that those different outlooks on social, religious and economic matters must bring about a break up in the Congress Party This is the more likely in view of the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is now leading, for it is quite obvious that many of those who in the past provided the sinews of war for the Congress Party will not continue to subsidize a socialist policy A policy of expropriation is unlikely to appeal to landowners in the United Provinces or socialism to mill-owners in Bombay, and there is no group of men whom it is more difficult to keep together in a strike than a collection of politicians All politicians are potential blacklegs if it is possible for them by breaking a strike to obtain a seat on the Treasury Bench. That has been demonstrated on different occasions in the past in India, and is certain to be demonstrated on the next occasion So far as the bad men in the Congress Party are concerned, they will not be prepared to deny themselves the opportunities for loot, so far as the good men are concerned, they will not be prepared to deny themselves the opportunities which the new Constitution gives them of trying to improve the economic condition of the constituencies that they represent. So for these reasons I believe that this victory portends the breaking up of the Congress Party, and that this solidarity which existed in the past will come to an end within the next few months

With regard to the defeat of the Moderate politicians, I think it is unfortunate that a proposal for a different electoral machinery that was made in the House of Commons was not accepted by the Government. If I may just give one or two simple figures to illustrate the point, I think it will show that the electoral system which has been adopted for India has made it

particularly easy for a well-organized majority to obtain a larger representation than it really ought to have. If, for example, you have 4,000 voters, of whom 2,000 are Congress men and 1,000 are supporters of the Justice Party, it is, I think, important and desirable that the Justice Party should obtain some representation. If you have the single vote and a voter may only vote for one representative, then it would be possible for the 1,000 Justice voters to obtain one representative in the Legislature. Under the system which at present obtains in all provinces except Bombay, each voter has as many votes as there are representatives to be elected. It is therefore possible for that 2,000 supporters of the Congress if they all vote for the same four men to obtain four representatives on Congress for their constituency and deprive the 1,000 Justice men of any representation. I do not wish to enlarge on that point, but I think the machinery that has been devised has made it easier for the Congress Party to obtain an overwhelming victory and one which has unfortunately resulted in the disappearance from Indian public life only temporarily, I hope, of many of the old Liberals.

In conclusion, I would only say that I hope that the interval between the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and Federation will not be too long. In any federation there is a natural tendency for friction to grow up between the Governments in the Provinces and the Government at the centre. You can see that in the United States of America you can see that in Australia you can see it in every federation in the world. This transitional period will I think, be a dangerous period for India to go through. You will have these new Provincial Governments dependent upon people able to assert a special authority because derived from the people of India over the top of them you will have the Government of India suspended from the Secretary of State in this country and responsible to the Imperial Parliament. Now there is obviously great danger of a constitutional conflict arising. The authority to which the Government of India looks is not the same authority as that to which the Provincial Governments look, and the great danger that I see in the success which the Congress Party has obtained is that they will take advantage of their power in the Provinces during this intervening period to refuse co-operation with the Central Government. They will try in that way to bring pressure to bear upon Parliament here to make concessions which it will be impossible for them to make, and such a demand can only result in extremely unfavourable circumstances for the inauguration of Federation at the centre.

Mr LAIKARA After having heard Professor Coatsman, Mr Molson, and others this afternoon, who can escape the feeling that there is a great amount of nervousness on the part of those who have sponsored the new Constitution in India at what is happening now? In other words, the prodigal is beginning to fear that the day of reckoning is coming near. I for one am not at all surprised at the Congress sweeping everything before it in the recent provincial elections in India. Until a fortnight ago I was myself in India, and what I saw and heard and read there fills me with nothing but grave concern as to what may happen in the next few months.

I have been privileged to attend and participate in debates and proceedings

of this Association for the last three years, and, so far as I can remember, at various stages of this Indian controversy those with whom it has been our duty to differ have had nothing more substantial to offer us than this—that we must keep on hoping for the best. When some of us said that the Congress would go in with a majority we were laughed at and I am sure if my esteemed friend Sir Michael O'Dwyer had said a year ago the same thing that he said today, he would have been told that he was a die-hard, and having been out of India for some time, his lifetime of experience there was of no account, it being out of date.

Now, Mr. Coatsman, you say in your paper that it is rather difficult to assess to what extent the Congress will have influence in the Legislatures. But on that point let us be perfectly clear. There is, I believe, no need for me to inflict on the audience at this stage, any complicated figures. More over, on the basis of the Hammond Report and the replies the Under Secretary Mr. Butler (I am glad to see Mr. Butler is here with us today), gave in the House of Commons yesterday, I do not find it difficult to assess the extent of Congress success nor do I wish to minimize it in any way. Here is my summary of the figures which shows that in the six provinces in which the Congress has secured a majority out of 942 seats it has captured 579 seats giving a majority of over 61 per cent. And out of the remaining five provinces in which Congress has not secured a working majority in three it can still count on considerable support and its vote as a bloc will be one of some importance. But the most important fact which is so often overlooked is that in those very six provinces in which the Congress has come out on the top, there is concentrated two-thirds of the total population in British India. That, to my mind, is the crux of the matter.

It is also inaccurate to say that of late the purely anti-British virus in the Congress attitude is absent. From what I have seen I find that the whole of Congress propaganda was nothing if not intensely anti-British. It won the elections solely on it. This point also needs a little explanation. The Government of India so found their hands tied this time that in many cases Congress workers and Congress candidates were able to preach with impunity something that went a long way to the region of sedition, and it was preached openly within earshot of the local policeman or village constable. All this lent colour to the bazaar talk that the British Raj would soon be at an end. The Congress told villagers that it would soon ride in the seat of power and woe be to those who were not with it now. Either with us or against us, was one of their war-cries. This is the plain tale of the whole sordid business and of this debacle of bolstering up a fantastic Constitution.

Out of some 1585 seats provided for in all the Provincial Legislatures Congress could only contest about a thousand after allowing for certain reserved seats which by their very nature no outsider could capture. And Congress has secured 710. So that, as you see for yourselves it has done very well, even much better than it could have expected to do. The Congress President and the Congress Executive have, from the very beginning, asked for the country's support on the sole undertaking that they are out to smash this Constitution and deal a death-blow to British Imperialism.

The whole burden of its propaganda has been, as I have already pointed out, intensely anti-British and surcharged with hatred of everything British.

In face of it all, to tell anyone to hope for the best is, I am afraid, putting too great a strain on one's faith and credulity. I regret to say I cannot call that optimism. That sort of attitude, in the light of past experience in Ireland and elsewhere and judged by all canons of reason, appears to me as little short of self-delusion. But, believe me, the other side is in no mood for self-delusion. It by no means intends to stultify itself merely to oblige those here who are now hard put to to save face. Even at this eleventh hour we must awaken to reality and have the courage to face facts. If not, it may happen that before long the weight and burden of the whole collapse will be put on blameless shoulders and hot coals heaped on innocent heads. Yet the real source of trouble lies buried in this fantastic Constitution which strikes at the very root of Imperial stability and threatens the security of our Empire.

Mr COATMAN, in reply said: I should not like Sir Ferozkhan Noon to think that I underrated the interest taken in the elections. I have a very clear recollection of the first elections in 1921 when I was a police officer, and my trouble was that there was too much interest being taken in the elections. Sir Michael O'Dwyer asked me a question. If he will allow me, I should like to say how proud I am that he should have come to hear my talk. I should like to tell him now as he spoke about the matter, that I have very vivid recollections of his saying one word to me on a notable occasion—a recollection that will remain as long as I live.

On the whole I feel rather like a schoolboy instructing his headmaster in a difficult matter of Greek grammar, but I will give my views on the question asked by Sir Michael. What about the collapse of the Liberals? I used to ask myself that question when I was in Delhi, and my answer is that, first of all, they are not a disciplined party, second, they are confined to the intelligentsia. They have no representatives anywhere else, and I have never been able to discover a coherent programme in any of their manifestos. From the formation of the Simon Commission onwards they have contented themselves with grumbling and objecting. I am sorry to say that, because I have many dear friends among them, but they have not put forward any constructive proposals, and their roots are in too shallow soil.

Nobody knows so well as Sir Michael O'Dwyer that the strength of India is the men of the soil. That leads me to his second question—why Congress was so successful. Because they had a programme designed to catch the man on the soil and because for years they have been cultivating him, perhaps by wrong methods, but they have been paying attention to the villages, and they have got the villages for the time being. Mr Molson foresaw the breaking up of the Congress Party quite soon. In a sense I expect the same thing, but not perhaps quite as I understand him to mean. I think certainly the Congress Party must disappear with the responsibilities, as I tried to argue in my paper, but I think we do well to count on them.

digging themselves in very strongly. You have to remember that the party that has power and patronage has got very many things on its side when the fight comes. So I do not look forward to a quick disappearance of the party, but I do look forward to a change of views. I listened with very great interest to what Mr. Molson had to say about machinery and its working. That will have to be tested out, and we will see if anything can be done about it.

Lastly, in regard to what Mr. Lalkaka said, his is a point of view with which we have some sympathy. Anybody who would deny that great dangers exist would be a fool. They do exist, and he is quite right in telling us that, but I have always thought that in this matter we have only a choice between dangers. I think we are choosing the lesser danger, and one thing we are doing, we are giving the best men and the best minds in India the chance to undertake constructive work. It is an appeal to them to do so, and there is no less desire and no less capacity in India than in this country to undertake such work.

MR. R. A. BUTLER, M.P. It is my pleasure, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, to propose a vote of thanks to Lord Halifax for his historic speech, to you, Lord Lamington, and to our lecturer, Professor Coatman, for his extremely able address. The only observation I should like to make is to congratulate the Association which, through a very difficult period of controversy, has managed to present both sides of the case for a number of years. I think that, my lord, is due to your influence largely and those who so ably advise you including Mr. Brown, who is sitting at your side. I only hope that India in starting upon Provincial Autonomy may learn just this one thing from British public life, and that is that it is possible to disagree most violently on political matters with many of those who later on are one's closest friends. I would like to thank Professor Coatman, who has a great knowledge of the subject, and I hope it will not be the last time we will have the opportunity of hearing his scientific views on what is likely to happen in India's future. (Cheers)



## HOSPITALITY FOR CORONATION VISITORS

THE East India Association is taking part in the work of a Co-ordinating Committee formed to deal with private hospitality, and which has representatives from the Dominions, India and Colonial Offices, the High Commissioners Offices and the non political Empire societies. Brigadier General Sir Samuel Wilson is the Chairman of the Committee. Members of the Association wishing to offer private hospitality to visitors from India should write to the Honorary Secretary, 3, Victoria Street, S W 1, or to the Secretary, Coronation Hospitality Committee, care of Dominions and Colonial Office, Downing Street, S W 1.

## THE WORK OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE FOR INDIA AND CEYLON

By SIR HARRY LINDSAY, K.C.I.E., C.B.E.  
(Director of the Imperial Institute)

It is not generally realized how wide is the range of services which the Imperial Institute renders to countries of the Overseas Empire. On the economic side our laboratories and intelligence offices are at the disposal of enquirers, whether Government Departments or business firms, individuals or associations. On the exhibition side we tell the story of the Overseas Empire, country by country, in our Exhibition Galleries, Cinema, and Film Library. The following is a brief account of our work for India and Ceylon under each of the main heads into which our day-to-day activities are grouped.

### PLANT AND ANIMAL PRODUCTS DEPARTMENT

The scientific and technical work of the Department is carried out by the Laboratories and the Intelligence Section. The function of the Laboratories is to investigate Empire raw products in order to determine their quality and commercial value. The materials received for examination may be "new"—*i.e.*, they may not have been previously considered for commercial utilization—or they may be standard commodities but derived from a new source, in the latter case it is necessary to compare them with the standard materials. In the Intelligence Section the scientific staff deal with the technical problems involved in the enquiries which are not handled by the Laboratories.

In recent years the Plant and Animal Products Department has carried out a number of interesting investigations on Indian products. One or two concrete examples may be given. Last year a series of samples of Sunn hemp (*Crotalaria juncea*) was submitted by the Department of Agriculture in Bihar and Orissa for report and valuation. On chemical examination and submission to the trade the samples were found to be all of good technical quality, very well prepared, and worth about £25 per ton. In connection with the problem of utilizing waste limes (*citrus*) the Department of Industries of the Bombay Presidency submitted through the High Commissioner a sample of lime oil distilled from the rinds of discarded fruits. Chemical examination showed the oil to have constants resembling those of West Indian distilled lime oil, but to

be inferior in strength of odour and flavour to the commercial West Indian product, a probability of improved quality resulting from better methods of distillation was suggested.

An experimental lot of sheep skins was submitted by the Technical Adviser of Kutch State for tanning and dressing trials to ascertain their suitability for export. The skins were tanned and dressed for glove leather by a firm represented on the Imperial Institute Hides and Skins Committee, and as a result the Committee recommended that a large parcel of skins should be prepared by improved methods and forwarded to the Imperial Institute for a works trial. The Committee has also had under consideration the complaints of tanners in the United Kingdom in regard to the preparation of half tanned leather from India and has furnished India with memoranda on the subject.

Other Indian products investigated include Sunn hemp and sisal, essential oils such as ginger-grass and palmarosa, oils and oil seeds (especially tung oil), and tanning materials, including myrobalans, babul bark and pods, *Anogeissus latifolia* leaves and extracts, and certain barks. Wormseed (*Artemisia*) from Kashmir has also been examined, and an enquirer was supplied with information regarding the methods of extraction of santonin from this drug for the market. Technical information has been supplied to firms in the United Kingdom concerning marotiy oil, kanjun oil, ghatti gum, soap nuts and mowra cake. The Institute is also in close touch with the Indian Lac Research Bureau in London, and carries out analyses of samples of lac submitted by the Chief Officer.

Much interesting work is also done on behalf of Ceylon, especially in association with the Registrar-General and Director of Commercial Intelligence, and the Trade Commissioner in London. A sample of estate-quality citronella oil examined was found to have satisfactory constants and to be of superior odour, supplies of oil of this quality would be welcomed by soap manufacturers. Work has been done in regard to tobacco, of which a range of samples has been examined including promising types for the United Kingdom market. Reports were furnished on the quality of the leaf shipped in successive seasons. Samples of castor seed submitted were reported as being all of marketable quality, though somewhat below the average as regards content of oil. Of a large range of other products examined, sunflower seed, essential oils (*geranium*, *cinnamon bark*, *lemongrass*, and *citronella*), *ginger*, and *tonka beans* may be mentioned. Help has been afforded to the Agricultural Department of Ceylon in connection with the establishment of a local fruit-canning industry. Information was furnished as to methods employed and plant required, and assistance given to an officer of the Department in studying recent

research on the industry, while reports were obtained of an experimental consignment of canned fruits. Private enquirers have also been assisted in regard to the use of coconut palm spirit in perfume manufacture, preparation of quinine and other alkaloids from cinchona bark, wine-making, etc.

#### MINERAL RESOURCES DEPARTMENT

The Mineral Resources Department is well equipped to carry out all kinds of tests on samples of a mineral character. The work done includes the chemical analysis of every variety of mineral specimen and also small-scale technical trials, in addition to physical testing of clays and of cement, both as regards raw materials and finished products.

To illustrate the varied nature of the work some recent examples may be cited. Detailed microscopic examinations were made of a large number of rock specimens from Ceylon which enabled them to be classified into several petrological types, and comprehensive chemical analyses were then carried out on a typical member of each rock-type represented. The results were required for scientific purposes in Ceylon and the experience necessary for this class of work is not available in the island.

It is known that various valuable by-products are now being obtained in different parts of the world from the waste liquors produced during the extraction and purification of table salt from sea water by solar evaporation. A number of by-products, prepared on a small scale, and of waste brines from the Ceylon Government's salt works, were sent to the Imperial Institute for analysis and for suggestions as to how they might be improved by inexpensive means. After analyses had been made, simple processes were worked out whereby products of commercial quality might be obtained. These products included magnesium sulphate (Epsom salts) of the grade required by the British Pharmacopoeia, and an impure potassium chloride which should be of use locally as a potash fertilizer. Potash is one of the elements essential for plant growth which is deficient in amount in most Ceylon soils.

In connection with a dietary survey of Ceylon, the mineral contents of a large number of fruits and vegetables in common use for food were determined, with a view to finding out whether one or more of the essential mineral elements was likely to be deficient in amount.

A number of samples of clay from Ceylon were examined. It was found that the raw clays as dug would be unsuitable for ceramic purposes, but that after washing to remove sand, grit, etc., they might be suitable for the manufacture of low grade ware for local use. A sample of crude ilmenite sand, of no com-

mercial value as received, was submitted to electro-magnetic separation in order to concentrate the ilmenite. Chemical analysis and solubility trials carried out on the separated ilmenite showed that it should be suitable for the manufacture of titanium pigment.

Scientific work done recently on Indian samples has consisted mainly of chemical analyses of various mineral samples for private firms and individuals. These have included monazite sands, ilmenite sands and a number of bauxites, the object being in all cases to determine the market possibilities of the samples. Not all the work involves practical trials or analyses, for instance, in view of the present interest in coconut shell charcoal engendered by the demand for gas-masks, the help of the Imperial Institute was sought by the Ceylon Coconut Research Scheme in formulating a local standard for coconut shell charcoal of good quality, and helpful advice was given. In the case of India, too, information has been supplied on the briquetting of charcoal dust and on the uses and disadvantages of charcoal and of raw wood as fuel for gas producers, both for stationary engines and for engines on motor vehicles.

In all this work close co-operation is maintained between the Institute and the Minerals Adviser to the Indian Government on the one hand and the Trade Commissioner for Ceylon on the other, the former officer being a member of each of the Institute's five Advisory Committees on Minerals. Attention is also given to India and Ceylon in the Institute publications prepared in the Mineral Resources Department. Recent publications containing matter dealing with these countries include *Gemstones, Mining Royalties and Rents in the British Empire, Platinum and Allied Metals*, while four new editions now in the press of *Barium Minerals, Asbestos, Strontium Minerals*, and *A Survey of the Mineral Position of the British Empire* also give considerable attention to India. The annual *Statistical Summary* issued by the Imperial Institute gives details *inter alia* of the production, imports and exports of the more important minerals of India and Ceylon.

#### THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE EXHIBITION GALLERIES

The extensive Exhibition Galleries, to which the public is admitted free of charge, are divided into Courts one for each country in the British Commonwealth of Nations, in which the scenery, the products and the life and industries of the people are represented in the form of a travelogue. These Courts are arranged in as true a geographical sequence as possible so that a visitor is able to pass from one country to another as if on an actual tour. The Courts of the countries of Asia have been

grouped together, those of India and Ceylon being in the east gallery, whilst those of Malaya, Borneo, and Hong Kong are in the adjoining south gallery. The Cinema Hall, where Empire films are displayed free to organized parties, is also entered from the East Gallery and from the South Gallery. The main object of the exhibits and of the Cinema is to carry out the travelogue idea and to impart, by means of visual instruction, to adults and to the youth of England, some knowledge of their Empire heritage and what this heritage means to them and to the home country.

To this end each Court has one or more "story" exhibits arranged to show the connection of some product in its country of origin with industries in Great Britain requiring that product in the manufacture of an article of everyday use. As an example of a "story" of this type, the jute exhibit in the Indian court may be cited. In this the visitor sees first a diorama (illuminated picture model) which depicts a scene in the jute region of Bengal and shows bundles of jute stems undergoing the retting process and the successive stages of preparation at the hands of the farmer up to the finished fibre, the raw jute of the manufacturer. A descriptive label attached to the diorama explains these processes, whilst a map gives the areas in India devoted to jute cultivation. Associated with this diorama is a showcase containing specimens and photographs of jute plants and of the various stages of treatment which the stems undergo until the fibre is ready for use in the jute mills of India or for transport overseas. These are followed by specimens, one third of the normal size, illustrating the jute sacks and bags manufactured in Calcutta and Dundee mills, and their service in the transport of the world's goods, each bag containing samples of the actual products which it is destined to transport. The many other services rendered by jute in the domestic life of every man are shown in a doll's house model illustrating how jute is employed in the home, the office, and the factory. By means of exhibits such as these the child, as well as the casual visitor, is brought into contact with important facts, that would otherwise be remote from his ken, regarding the needs of everyday life and how they are supplied, and, at the same time, an awareness of the romance of common things is awakened.

The subjects of similar "story" exhibits are Indian cotton and Lancashire looms, Indian mica and its application as an insulator in the electric flat-iron and in the commutator of a motor-car, Travancore beach sand and its numerous applications in modern industry from paint and printer's ink to sparking flints of cigarette lighters, Indian linseed oil, rosin, and jute, as components of linoleum, Indian sheep skins as the material of the "kid" glove,

East Indian kips as leather for army boots, Ceylon plantation rubber in the service of health, communications, transport, and sport, and the versatile Ceylon coconut as a source of coir fibre for matting and brushes, and of copra and oil as the basis of margarine, sweets, soap, and cattle food.

As a further aid to the travelogue scheme of arrangement, relief model maps are introduced in various Courts, or groups of Courts, to show the physical features of the countries concerned and their bearing on the crops grown and consequently on the life and activities of the human populations, whilst the dioramas, photographic window transparencies, pictures, and photographs, bring to the eye of the visitor those scenes which would be met with on an actual tour of the country.

Two Guide Lecturers, with experience of life in overseas countries, are attached to the staff, and their services are available for conducting school parties and others who come to study a particular country or group of countries. The lectures given in the courts are supplemented by films shown in the cinema, and school parties usually combine a visit to the cinema with a lecture tour. That the visual instruction available in the Imperial Institute galleries is appreciated is evident from the fact that some 2,800 organized parties from schools visit the galleries annually, and is further evidenced by the fact that during school holidays children come on their own initiative and, in many cases, bring their parents with them.

Every district in Greater London sends school parties, and some come from much further afield. In order to assist schools in the provinces that are too far removed to be able to take advantage of the facilities afforded by visits to the galleries, specimens of the commoner Empire commodities are supplied, on written application, for a nominal sum, and series of photographic postcards have been prepared and are on sale for use in the epidiascope to illustrate lectures on Empire countries and Empire products. Free literature concerning certain countries is also available, and is sent out with the specimens of commodities or distributed to enquirers at the Central Publications Stand, which is maintained in the Galleries for this purpose.

#### EMPIRE FILM LIBRARY

A wide public is reached by the films in the Empire Film Library, which was inaugurated by H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester less than two years ago. Some 2,500 schools and other organizations in the United Kingdom made regular use last year of the film service, and the number of films supplied reached the total figure of 23,500, and these were seen by over 4,700,000

persons There is constant growth in the number of users of the Library, and the revised catalogue of films which will be issued during this year will contain numerous additions

At present India and Ceylon are represented by 77 copies of films Here are films which add a touch of romance to the everyday use of tea and rice, elephants and buffaloes are shown toiling in the forests of Burma, and tourists discovering the "Mystic East" There is a wide field awaiting the circulation of more and better films, of which the fullest advantage should be taken by overseas nations of the British Commonwealth



## A JANUARY WEEK IN PALESTINE

By C E NEWHAM

I was with His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda when he journeyed by air from Jodhpur to Alexandria (his first long distance flight) in December and subsequently on a tour in Nubia and the Sudan. While His Highness toured in East Africa I returned to Cairo and took the opportunity to pay a short visit with my wife to Palestine for the purpose of informing His Highness of conditions there, with a view to a later visit. I give the following extracts from my log.

Leaving Cairo at 5.30 p.m. on January 26 we transferred to the Palestine railways by means of the Suez Canal ferry at Kantara and arrived in Jerusalem at 9 a.m. on the following day.

We obtained a good car driven by one Michel Sweda, a Palestine Christian, and a most versatile guide in Harry Hannaux, a Palestine Jew (pre-war) who became Quartermaster Sergeant of the City of London Regiment during the war and served much of his four years in this area. We set out to see the Dead Sea, the Jordan and Jericho.

The weather had been cold and wet, following snow but the sun shone obligingly through our first day after the dismal drizzle which greeted our arrival. We drove comfortably along a good road through the hills on which Jerusalem is built, and Hannaux occasionally broke the thread of his descriptions of historic places of war reminiscences to point out spots where there had been recent skirmishes or armed dacoities—several cars have been held up this month. The dangerous time is apparently about sunset, and with one later exception, we so timed our trips that they finished before sunset.

The drive was steadily downhill, for while Jerusalem is 3,000 feet above sea level, the Dead Sea is 1,400 feet below. At last we emerged from a deep cutting to see the Dead Sea, shining and still, at the foot of the Mountains of Moab. Then the road led across a flat plain, once the bed of the Dead Sea, past the potash works and drying pans, to the Lido Restaurant at Kallia, where it is hoped to develop a new health resort. The water is very salty, and the composition and properties appear closely to resemble those at Salt Lake City, Utah, which I visited four years ago.

Hannaux explained all the Biblical associations of this historic area, which is known to be the result of a gigantic subterranean disturbance in primeval days. Then, after an admirable simple meal on a sunny terrace, we motored to Jericho, or rather through it to the Jordan. Leaving the car on the Palestine side of the Allenby Bridge, of which Hannaux told many good war stories as we leaned over the wooden rail and gazed at the turbulent muddy stream, we walked over into Transjordan towards Es Salt, the first

town there Es Salt is connected with Amman on the railway between Damascus and Maan, the scene of daring exploits of the late Lawrence of Arabia

Back in Jericho, nowadays a pleasant smiling village at the foot of the peak where Christ was tempted by Satan, Hannaux proved to be a fund of knowledge, whether of ancient history or the current conflict between Jew and Arab

On the way back from Jericho we made a brief halt at Bethany, crawled down into the tomb of Lazarus, and saw the house of Mary Magdalene At Cook's the news from Damascus was that the road was still blocked but we made plans for the morrow on the assumption that there would be no more snow and that the road would be open on Friday There remained only sufficient daylight for a short stroll to watch a lovely sunset, by which Jerusalem the Golden justified its name We were glad then to rest until dinner as the guests of Mr Owen Tweedy, Director of the Press Bureau who lunched with His Highness in Cairo

In the King David Hotel were several acquaintances from India most of them on military duty His Highness the Khan of Kalat and staff were also there, but we only caught a glimpse of them in intervals of sight-seeing The hotel is the headquarters of General Dill who commands the forces drafted into Palestine, and one floor and part of another is utilized either for officers and their families or as military offices The hotel is one of the chain in which we had stayed in Cairo, Luxor and Assuan and in many respects the best

We had tried to see the Garden of Gethsemane on our way to Jericho but we found the Franciscan Fathers saying their prayers On our way back we were more fortunate and saw all its loveliness in a soft fading sun light The chapel is beautiful but the garden appealed to us both far more The atmosphere is one of profound peace the only movement being that of the Fathers, moving slowly and noiselessly tending the flowers telling their beads, or reading

There was still no news of the Damascus-Beirut road on the following morning, but the local weather reports were more reassuring We felt that the roads would surely be opened if no further snow fell and we decided to speed up our sight-seeing so that we might leave at a moment's notice Our first objective then was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is such an amazing place that a whole volume would be needed to describe it The majority of Christian communities of recognized standing have their own chapels within, but the very tiny inner sanctuary covering the spot where the Body of Christ was laid is shared by all and services are held in strict rotation each community being allowed the same number of minutes

Outside we stumbled along narrow, slippery, cobbled streets to the ancient Mosque of Omar and the Dome of Rock, the original site of King Solomon's Temple This site has been held through the ages by many peoples and many religions, but now it is exclusively Muhammadan A short distance away we lingered for a while at the Wailing Wall where many Jews were praying This historic spot has caused much bitterness and bloodshed in recent years and is now guarded by British police For obvious reasons

we had to leave Hannaux behind on this morning, but he sent with us a Christian colleague, who seemed as anxious to talk of the political situation as of antiquities. Nor did we discourage him.

Michel, the driver of our car, was waiting with the car at the gates which look up to the Mount of Olives and we drove straight to Bethlehem, stopping only for a brief moment to look at the field in which the "shepherds watched their flocks by night." After expostulatory words with an annoying collection of vendors of beads, postcards, mother of pearl, and alleged relics, we entered the Church of the Nativity through the eye of a needle, a small opening which necessitates crouching. It will be recalled that Christ said that it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. One could not imagine any camel passing through the eye of the needle which is the main entrance to the buildings covering the spot where Christ was born.

It is practically impossible to describe adequately or with any certitude the feelings with which one looks down upon the spot where Christ was born and the manger where He was laid. One needs neither to be a Christian nor deeply religious to appreciate the surroundings, their solemnity, and the world movements which originated there, and we can well leave our feelings unanalyzed. As at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the various communities share the inner shrine a tiny dark chapel which accommodates less than one hundred people. And, as at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the guardian or watchman is a Muhammadan.

We lingered outside while our guide explained that at each service a priest of another community stands watching to make certain that the priest actually holding his service does not exceed the allotted time by a fraction of a minute. Probably it is better that way since it eliminates one fruitful cause of controversies that have raged for centuries, but it does give food for thought that such measures should be necessary or such controversies rage twenty centuries after the birth of Christ and His preaching of the Brotherhood of Man. Such a reflection faintly shadowed our appreciation of Bethlehem.

Back in Jerusalem good news awaited us. The weather in Syria was unreliable, but the mountain road over the Lebanon was open temporarily. The opportunity had to be taken or the project abandoned altogether. We could not afford to wait for better weather and we could not delay for fear of being held up in the mountains, as other cars had been. We decided to start before dawn for Damascus, so that if there was more snow we could still get back along the same road. Accordingly arrangements were made to spend one night at Damascus and Beirut and to fly back from Haifa. It so proved that we had no cause to regret our decision, though it entailed doing in two days what more normal travellers accomplish in five.

We thought that the afternoon would be well spent by visiting Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. After descending by a winding road through the hills, we found a prosperous smiling plain, intensively cultivated, and for miles we drove through orange groves and passed larnies piled with oranges. Hannaux informed us that the major industries of Palestine are politics, oranges, and tourists. The last two are normally profitable, but tourists are unlikely to

flock to Palestine in large numbers again while politics remain an obsession and while the general situation is little more than an armed and unstable truce.

Jaffa, despite its history, had little of interest to offer, but it provides an amazing contrast for Tel-Aviv, a new city being built on sandhills just north of Jaffa. Tel-Aviv is almost one hundred per cent. Jewish, and it looks like a newly developed suburb to a modern American city.

The hills were dark and the lights twinkling as we drove back to Jerusalem, Hannaux still talking politics, generally amusing but always shrewd, obviously convinced that, given the opportunity, the Jews could develop Palestine into a great country. Assuming that the Arabs are given an equivalent opportunity and no less a share in the development, there seems no reason why Palestine should not go ahead. That is the deadlock. The Arabs see themselves being gradually dispossessed by the greater skill and wealth of the Jews. Of the racial antipathy there is no doubt. If there is any solution it is not obvious, though many with experience of India are inclined to suggest a federal government on the basis of cantons. Superficial impressions are not necessarily useless, and when our tour ended we felt that not only Palestine, but the surrounding countries were unstable and uneasy, and likely to provide another international cockpit in the years ahead.

Getting out of bed at 4.30 a.m. is never a very cheerful prospect, but for once we managed it with a fair show of enthusiasm. Michel was punctual with the car, and as 6 o'clock struck we left the King David Hotel for what we intended to be an almost non-stop drive to Damascus in eight hours. It was a glorious sunrise, and between rags and enthusiasm we hardly felt the cold. There was little traffic on the roads and once through the hills Michel let the car out. We sped through Nablus and Samaria, and indeed only stopped once to stretch our legs and see Jacob's Well, between Jerusalem and Nazareth.

With the aid of Michel and a guide-book there was plenty of interest to see, recalling Biblical days—the struggle between the Crusaders and Saladin, the retreat of the Turks before the pressure of Allenby's advance, and a host of other things. On the map the road appears to be straight but to negotiate the various ranges of hills on an easy gradient it often twists and turns back upon itself. The surface however, is admirable, and we were well ahead of time at Nazareth, where we halted at the Galilee Hotel for a hasty breakfast and a brief survey of the town from the hills above. It is very well kept and many nationalities have established hospices.

We caught a glimpse of Haifa nestling at the foot of Mount Carmel, with the Mediterranean beyond, and then turned east towards Tiberias and the Sea of Galilee, with snow-capped Mount Hermon to the north. We suddenly burst through the hills to a glorious view of the lake below, and, after an almost breathless descent, halted on the brink of the lake below the Lido Hotel, incidentally a hotel of excellent repute, though the name may seem a little inappropriate in the midst of so many holy associations. This lake as the Bible relates, is subject to very violent storms, but it was calm and peaceful as we strolled while the car was refuelled. To our left was Capernaum, and facing us the waters on which Christ walked.

We were still ahead of time, with half our journey completed, but Michel was determined to have something in hand in case the road in Syria was skiddy or the surface rough through rain and frost. The sun was now shining brightly, and the drive around the northern end of the Sea of Galilee strongly reminiscent of the drive from Ouchy around the Lake of Geneva. Passing several Jewish settlements which did not appear very prosperous, we shot downhill again to the Jordan, Michel relating stories of how the Australian Light Horse harried the retreating Turks at this point.

At Roshpina we were halted for passport examination. Then after two miles of no man's land we turned north to a small Palestine police post, and a hundred yards further on the Syrian frontier post at Jacob's Bridge. Then we climbed steeply to a flat, stony, uninviting plain over which towered Mount Hermon and the white peaks of the anti Lebanon. Snow lay round about us and the air was cold, but the road was clear. After twenty miles of dreary desert, relieved only by the mountains, we began to see villages and cultivation, police posts and French troops.

With a triumphant smile Michel pointed to the faint outlines of Damascus ahead. We had gained nearly an hour on our schedule. We shot past the aerodrome barracks, parties of Senegalese and Algerian troops, and came, rather gladly, to rest in front of the Orient Palace Hotel shortly after one o'clock.

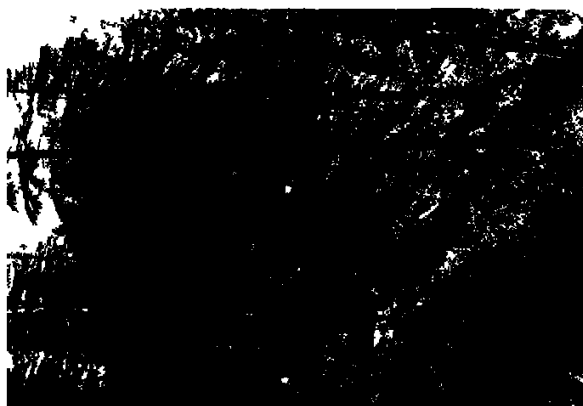


A HIMALAYAN TEMPLE SURROUNDED WITH ITS SACRED GROVE OF DEODAR



A SAWMILL CAMP IN THE DODAR FOREST

*C p. ght H I H A*



A DODAR FOREST AFTER THE COMPLETION  
OF THE FIRST SEEDING FELING

*C p. ght H L H g t*



SAWING PAIRS MAKING DEODAR SLETTERS

Capt H I I



CARRIAGE OF BROAD GAUGE DEODAR SLETTERS BY COOLIES

Deodar to the FN the India

Capt H I I





A DRY SLIDE FOR THE EXTRACTION OF SLEEPERS

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PHP SECTION OF A LARGE DODAR LOC SHOWN AT THE  
KASHMIR STATE EXHIBITION

This was cut from a tree nearly 100 years old  
very old it is 100 ft

## THE DEODAR FORESTS OF NORTHERN INDIA

By H L WRIGHT, I F.S

(Conservator of Forests, North West Frontier Province.)

WHEN it is realized that each mile of broad-gauge railway line requires 2,000 sleepers, having an average life of little more than twelve years, some idea will be obtained of the enormous amount of timber that is annually consumed by the Indian railways. During recent years iron and steel sleepers have come into prominence, but even so the number of wooden sleepers annually required for replacements alone runs into millions. Yet with all its thousands of tree species India possesses very few whose timber is suitable for use in the railway line. For a sleeper wood must have several special characteristics—durability, hardness and toughness, non-liability to warp and split, and good spike holding capacity.

Antiseptic treatment is a comparatively recent innovation in India. This has increased the range of timbers that may be used, for previously all sleepers were laid in the line without treatment, and there were then only four species that were of any importance—deodar, sal, Burmese pyinkado, and teak. But teak has never been used to such a large extent as the other species, as it is really too valuable for this purpose, and now its price is almost prohibitive.

Availability is the main factor that decides the choice of a sleeper wood, and for this reason deodar has, ever since the line was first constructed, always been used by the North-Western Railway, which, with its thousands of miles of track, serves the whole of the Punjab, the North West Frontier Province and Sindh, and this demand alone would have been sufficient to have placed deodar in the first rank of Indian commercial timbers.

But it is not only its use for sleepers that makes deodar the most important forest tree of the western Himalaya. It is, in fact, like teak, too good to be used for this purpose, as it is an admirable timber for building and bridge construction, furniture, and for any purpose for which durability and immunity from insect attack is required. It is its latter quality that makes deodar timber so valuable for use in the plains, for its sweet-smelling natural oil makes it particularly distasteful to the otherwise voracious termite, and it can thus be used for many purposes for which other conifers would fail.

The deodar (*Cedrus deodara*), which is a first cousin of the cedar of Lebanon, is a fairly widespread species, being indigenous

throughout the western Himalaya, from Afghanistan to Garhwal, at elevations of from 4,000 to 10,000 feet. It is most commonly found from 6,000 to 8,000 feet, but the altitudinal range varies greatly with locality, being higher on the southern than on the northern slopes. The deodar belt is, however, a well marked one, as the tree is essentially gregarious, though it frequently occurs in a mixed crop with other conifers, such as the blue pine, spruce and to a less extent the silver fir, and with broad leaved trees such as the Himalayan oaks and chestnut.

Rainfall appears to play a considerable part in the distribution of deodar, particularly the winter rainfall, which at the elevations at which deodar grows is mostly in the form of snow. For while it is found in the dry inner valleys and in the upper reaches of the Punjab's five rivers, where the monsoon does not penetrate, it is never at its best on the outer hills, which receive the full force of the monsoon rains. The climate of Kashmir, with its heavy winter snowfall and rather wet spring, but with only a moderate rainfall during the monsoon, is ideal for deodar, and throughout the State it is to be found thriving to perfection over large and compact areas.

A feature of its distribution, and one which has an important economic aspect, is the relatively small area of deodar forest that is to be found in British India. Only Jaunsar in the United Provinces, the Beas valley (Kulu) in the Punjab, and the Kaghan valley in the North-West Frontier Province are substantial exporters of deodar from Government-owned forests. By far the greater part of the supply comes from Indian States, chief of which is Kashmir, which covers a large area right in the middle of the deodar zone. To the east of this are Tehri Garhwal, Bashahr, Jubbāl, Mandi and Chamba States, while to the west are the frontier States, Swat, Dir, and Chitral, which form the northern bulwark to our Indian Empire, and the tribal forests of Indus Kohistan, from which large quantities of deodar are exported, but which no forest officer has ever been allowed to visit. Further west still are the deodar forests of Afghanistan, which up to the present have never seriously been worked for export.

Grown under optimum conditions, the deodar reaches a huge size, for though slow growing it is long lived. As a commercial crop it takes at least one hundred and twenty years to arrive at maturity, but it will live for many times this period, and in the early days of forest management trees eight to nine hundred years old were not uncommon. It has been known to attain a height of nearly 250 feet and a girth of more than 30 feet, but such grand old trees are now extremely scarce and are rarely found outside temple groves, where, being looked upon as sacred, they are allowed to stand until they die.

For, as its name implies, the deodar is the tree of the gods, and trees growing in temple groves are specially venerable. For these are the personal property of the god, and no hill-man in his senses would dream of cutting one, far less of using the timber for his private needs. Even should one fall from old age, it will be allowed to rot if the timber is not required for repairs to the temple.

For misfortune would certainly result if a house were built of the sacred timber, either the house would refuse to stand, or, what is the more usual form in which a god's anger is made manifest, the owner's family would fall victim to some terrible disease or his crops would fail to ripen. Some of these groves are indeed so sacred, or perhaps it is that the gods who own them are so much to be feared, that the hill man who has to pass through them will carefully remove even the dry needles that may have stuck to his shoes, so that he may not invoke the god's displeasure by inadvertently removing some of his property from within the sacred precincts.

Although the greater part of the deodar forests lie outside British India, their history is of outstanding interest, for not only were they some of the earliest forests to be examined and brought under technical forest management, but the various stages through which forest conservancy developed give an insight into the lines on which the brains which were directing forest policy in India were then working. The history of these forests is, in fact, the history of the Indian Forest Service, which, within fifty years of its creation, had become the foremost forest service in the Empire, showing the way to less highly developed places where forest conservancy was yet in its infancy.

The history of these forests starts from the annexation of the Punjab in 1847. Previous to this a small quantity of deodar timber had probably found its way down most of the Punjab rivers to the plains below. For in those early days deodar grew right down to the river banks, and it was not difficult to fell the more accessible trees, to log them on the river-bank, to throw the logs into the river, and to pray for a good monsoon to carry a fair number of them down to the Punjab. Such primitive methods of exploitation are practised to this day by the tribesmen of Indus Kohistan, and there can be little doubt that a certain amount of deodar timber was always available for the better class buildings in the plains of Northern India.

But after the annexation the country developed rapidly. New cantonments began to spring up all over the Punjab, while the railways were rapidly extended. A big demand thus arose for first-class timber, and as deodar was the only wood at all suitable, various adventurous spirits began to penetrate the inner hills

prospecting for deodar The most notable of these was an individual whose mode of approach was a bag of rupees, which, dangled before one of the hill Rajas, seems to have been sufficient to obtain almost *carte blanche* to take as many trees as he wanted. Naturally the more accessible forests were worked first, and many lying alongside the main rivers were so reduced to ruin that they have never been able to recover

About this time the Maharaja of Kashmir also appears to have realized that his forests could be made a source of income. It will be remembered that, on the conclusion of the second Sikh war, what is now known as Kashmir was sold to the Maharaja of Jammu for seventy five lakhs of rupees It is said that when he first surveyed his purchase, he grumbled and remarked that one third of the country was mountains, one third water, and the rest already alienated to privileged persons How little could he have foreseen that in the time of his great grandson the gross forest revenue of his domains would exceed the whole of the original purchase money

By 1851 anxiety was already being felt regarding future supplies of deodar The demands of the public works departments were constantly increasing, yet little was known of the sources from which supplies were being drawn For the inner valleys of the Punjab's five great rivers were almost unknown country Lord Dalhousie, who was then Governor-General, and who will always be remembered as the founder of Indian forestry, therefore appointed a Captain Longden of His Majesty's 10th Foot, carefully to examine and to report on the forests of the whole western Himalaya, eastwards from Chamba to the north of Simla

To those who know what extensive touring in the Punjab hills entails, even under present-day conditions, a description of Longden's explorations, at a time when there were no roads, no rest-houses, and, above all, no proper maps, must be a source of continual admiration and astonishment He must have been a man of exceptional powers of endurance, for he covered a vast amount of country and penetrated to places hitherto hardly visited by Europeans During the course of his travels he visited all the important deodar areas in the valleys of the Sutlej, Beas, Ravi and Chenab rivers, except those lying within Kashmir territory, and as a direct result of his explorations an agency was established in the Chenab valley, where during the next two years he himself organized exploitation works on Government account. This agency worked well, for during the next decade it was able, from its *dépôt* near Sialkote, to supply the various public works departments with the greater part of their timber requirements.

It was not long, however, before the energy with which railway construction was being pushed on in Northern India again caused

anxiety with regard to future deodar supplies, and in order to find out to what extent the hill forests could meet this demand, Dr Cleghorn, who was then Conservator of Forests in Madras, was transferred to the Punjab to make an examination of the timber resources of the western Himalaya and to inaugurate systematic conservancy and forest management in the Punjab.

Cleghorn's journeys were even more remarkable than those of Longden, for during the two summers of 1862 and 1863 he visited and recorded most valuable information regarding all the hill forests from the Jumna to the Indus, while during the winters he inspected the timber depôts and examined the scrub forests of the plains. In the course of his report Cleghorn made it clear that neither the Chamba nor the Bashahr forests could continue to be worked at the same rate as they had been during the past decade.

The Punjab Forest Department was initiated in 1864, with Dr Stewart as its first Conservator, and one of its first duties was to negotiate leases with these two States so that their forests might be worked in future to provide a sustained supply of timber for Government public works. These leases were completed by 1866, and as a lease had also been entered into with the Tehri Garhwal State, Government thus obtained control over all the more important deodar areas outside Kashmir, which resolutely refused to allow any interference with its forest affairs.

The foundations of scientific forest management had now been laid. The Himalayan forests were formed into five forest divisions, each bearing the name of one of the Punjab rivers, and the staff for management and conservancy was slowly recruited. But even more important, the Government of India laid down a definite forest policy, that, however expedient it might be, these forests were not to be worked without due consideration being paid to their future maintenance and reproduction. At the same time emphasis was laid on the importance of replacement by means of planting and sowing. This pronouncement, which was made at the end of 1865, was of great importance, as it was almost the first sign of the awakening of what may be called a forest conscience.

Although enormous demands for sleepers for new construction sometimes made it impossible to avoid anticipating fellings, the policy of Government was loyally carried out by the newly organized Forest Department, and it stands to the lasting credit of those who were then at the helm of affairs, particularly Dr Brandis, that the forests were able to pass through this period of strain without permanent damage to their productive capacity.

The next thirty years, from about 1870 to 1900, was a period of building on the foundations that had already been laid. During this period, as more technical staff became available, increasing attention was paid to organization and control. The forests were

demarcated and surveyed, the rights of the people were enquired into and settled, while carefully thought out working plans were prepared for all the more important forests. Even the smaller States came into line, and with the advice of Government forest officers organized their forests on similar lines. In 1887 Kashmir, too, began to organize a forest department, and appointed as Conservator an officer of the Indian Forest Service. Since that day forestry in the State has so progressed that the State forests are now as highly organized and as scientifically managed as any in British India.

Since 1900 the main line of progress and development has been in silviculture, which has truly been described as the foundation of all forestry. For it is the science of growing forest crops, and unless the forester knows how to replace the trees that he has felled, nothing but disaster can result. But in its early days the Forest Department had neither the staff nor the time to devote to silvicultural research, for it is a subject that requires uninterrupted study, as it is complicated by the fact that every species must be studied separately. For every species has its own peculiarities, and even the same species may have different silvicultural characteristics in different localities.

In the case of the deodar forests the department were in the happy position of having a large surplus of mature and over-mature trees, which could gradually be realized without seriously depleting their capital. These were taken out from all over the forests, and although artificial restocking was undertaken on small selected areas, it was for the most part left to Nature to fill in the blanks that were caused by felling. The early working plans were, however, very conservative in their estimates, and the mature trees were removed so gradually that it was not until the early years of the present century that it began to be realized that this system of working, the selection of mature trees from large areas of forest, was not resulting in as much regeneration as was expected. For although young deodar plants are capable of standing moderate shade and of persisting under it for some time, they are incapable of making headway unless given complete overhead light, and this was what they were failing to get under the system of management then applied.

This was realized by the present Inspector-General of Forests, Sir Gerald Trevor, who, as divisional forest officer in Kulu, devoted nine years to the investigation of this problem. As a result of prolonged study and carefully conducted experiments, he was able to show that deodar could be perfectly regenerated under a light shelterwood of mother trees, and in the working plan for the Kulu forests, prepared by him in 1919, the Uniform or Shelterwood system of management was applied to deodar for the first time.

This system cannot be applied to forests on very steep ground, but in all suitable localities it is now the recognized method of working both in British India and the Indian States

Briefly it aims at removing the whole of the existing crop and replacing it with an even aged crop of young trees within a definite period of time, thus ensuring ample supplies of timber for future generations. In most places this system has given wonderful results, and Trevor, revisiting Kulu after an absence of fifteen years, was able to write as a foreword to the working plan that was replacing his own

In the profession of forestry, more especially in India it seldom happens that a man is permitted to see the results of his labours. I have now had the privilege to return to the Punjab and to see areas where I marked the first seedling felling now completely regenerated with magnificent young woods, to see thriving plantations where rubbish cumbered the ground, and I have my reward. Having seen the forestry of the greater part of the world I can say that the standard of work which has now been attained is in no way inferior to that of any country. The young crops now being nursed up will produce a yield of finest timber, far greater than that obtained in the past, and in spite of bad times there is no reason to believe that this the only property of the Punjab Government, will ever cease to repay the care and money spent on it.

Thanks mainly to Trevor, the silviculture of the deodar is now firmly established, but though progress in this direction has been great, little has been done to alter the methods of timber extraction, which are still much the same as they were sixty or seventy years ago. But this is easily explainable, for although these methods have often been decried as primitive and old fashioned, it is doubtful whether under present conditions in the Himalaya they could be improved upon. For labour is cheap and, though uneducated, is skilled and efficient for the work it has to do. Schemes for portable sawmills and mechanical means of extraction have often been mooted but have rarely materialized, for sawmills and machinery, unless they are kept constantly at concert pitch, are apt to prove white elephants, and the average hill man has little aptitude for machinery.

The story of the evolution of a sleeper, from the standing tree to its final position in the track, is full of interest. First comes marking the trees, for whether a forest is sold to purchasers or worked by the department, it is a cast iron rule that no tree may be felled until it has been marked at the base with the felling hammer of the department. Next comes felling, and this, whether done with the axe or with the saw, is a skilful operation on which much depends. For deodar often grows on very steep country, and if felling is done carelessly the tree takes charge, rushes away down the hillside, and by the time it reaches the



bottom there is little left to saw into sleepers, most of it having been reduced to matchwood. But if it is felled properly it stays very much where it falls, and, lying along the hillside, is there cross-cut into sleeper lengths, each  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet long. The logs are then squared with an axe, propped up on posts and sawn into sleepers. Sawing is a slow process, two men or a man and a woman working on the saw, one standing on the log and the other beneath. Often a sawing pair consists of man and wife, and it is then invariably the wife who is given the lower position, probably because this is the more unpleasant owing to the falling sawdust.

Conversion is now finished, but by far the most arduous part of the work remains, for many of the deodar forests lie high up on the hillside, far away from the nearest floating stream, which is the first stage on the long journey to the plains. For this part of the work some form of mechanical aid has been invoked in recent years, and in suitable places a simple form of ropeway is used for taking the sleepers down, or where the country is easy dry slides are often built over which the sleepers can be dragged. But from most places the sleepers still have to be moved by human labour, and for this special coolies are employed, who from long practice are able to carry immense loads, for a single broad gauge sleeper weighs well over a hundredweight. In some places in the higher hills carriage is done by women, and it is not uncommon to meet a strong sturdy hill girl trotting down the sleeper path with two sleepers on her back and a baby wrapped up in a blanket slung on in front.

Arrived at the side stream, the next stage is to work the sleepers down to the main river. Various methods are used, the most common being wet slides and telescopic floating. These slides are remarkable contrivances, Heath-Robinsonish in appearance and aligned entirely by eye, they are wonderfully efficient, and it is often hard to believe that they can have been built by men with absolutely no engineering training. Telescopic floating can be used only when the streams are swollen by the monsoon rains. A succession of pools is made by damming up the stream, and between these small lengths of slide are made of the sleepers themselves. Sleepers are floated from the back and built up in front, and in this way the whole consignment is gradually worked down to the junction with the main river.

Here the sleepers are taken out and stacked on the bank to wait for the water to return to its normal level, when the *ghal*, as it is called (which may amount to as many as 50,000 sleepers), is launched in the river. Following the *ghal* come a number of men on inflated skins, whose business it is to sweep the river—that is, to push along any sleepers that may be stranded on the bank or

caught on projecting boulders. Sweeping down is another slow process, but in due course the *ghal* arrives at the point where the river emerges from the hills, where the sleepers are caught, made up into rafts, and sent off on the final stage of their journey. On arrival at railhead, they are landed and sorted, and those which, after the buffeting they have received on their travels, are still up to specification are handed over to the railway. But such is the strictness of the railway standard that less than half the sleepers that were sawn in the forest are considered suitable for laying in the track.

In its early days the Forest Department carried out all its extraction work itself, but later it was realized that trained forest officers could more profitably be employed on managing and tending their forests, leaving extraction to private enterprise. Departmental work is still carried out on a small scale, but in most places the trees are sold standing to contractors. During recent years a system has been evolved under which the forest owners and the railways have periodic conferences, at which the price to be paid for sleepers during the next few years is determined and also the number of sleepers to be supplied. A quota is given to each forest owner, and when the trees are sold a collateral sleeper supply contract is given to the purchaser to supply a definite number of sleepers at the agreed price. This arrangement has worked well for a number of years, as it insures the owner getting a fair price for his trees, the railways obtaining their requirements at reasonable rates, and the purchaser having a firm market for the major part of his outturn.

In common with most other raw materials, deodar timber has suffered a very severe setback in prices in recent years, the present rate for sleepers being little more than half what it was in the boom years following the war. The price of deodar, however, depends very largely on the price of wheat, for after the railways the canal colonies form one of its chief markets, and when the price of wheat is low, the villager cannot afford expensive timber for his building. Whether prices will respond to more prosperous conditions remains to be seen. For in India, as elsewhere, other materials now fill many of the needs for which timber was once used. The railways are turning more to metal sleepers, while reinforced concrete and pressed steel beams are being increasingly used for building, even in the villages. But there are still people who prefer wood and many purposes for which deodar has no rival, and, though another boom in timber is improbable, the "tree of the gods" is likely always to find a market and to have little difficulty in maintaining its proud position as the most important timber tree in Northern India.

## THE PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH

By WILBUR BURTON

(The author, who is an American, has recently left the Far East after a protracted stay including the Philippines, on journalistic work)

FILIPINO self government started in the administration of President Woodrow Wilson during the World War. Even before that time there had been steady steps in this direction. After the phase of military occupation had been completed against both the Spaniards and the Filipino dissidents, in 1902, the legislative functions in the islands were delegated to a Philippine Commission consisting of five Americans and three Filipinos. A Legislative Assembly, giving still greater representation to Filipinos, was started in 1905. And although the exact status of the Philippines in relation to the United States was never defined, all American constitutional rights were extended to the Filipinos, excepting trial by jury and the right to bear arms. This latter right, however, has been increasingly curbed in the United States, and so practically the Filipinos were placed on a position of equality with Americans at home save in the one item of trial by jury.

Here was a striking and perhaps too sudden change from the policy during the some three hundred years of Spanish rule in the islands. Then the Filipinos had to take off their hats when Spaniards passed. A native and a Spaniard could not sit at the same table even if the Spaniard was a guest in the native's home. Whipping was the most common punishment imposed. Catholicism was compulsory, and the natives were largely held as peons of the friars. The friars, indeed, practically constituted the government and did not hesitate to defy Madrid if their "rights" were encroached upon. For example, one governor, Fernando de Bustamante, 1717-19, brought on a friar rebellion, in which he was mortally wounded, through his efforts to reform the treasury after he had found irregularities in it. A more typical Spanish governor was Señor Izquierdo, 1871-73, who declared he intended to rule "with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other."

Most of the Americans, of course, drew a considerable colour line in social affairs, although not quite as sharp as that of the Spaniards, but otherwise the Filipinos were elevated within less than half a decade from virtual slavery to almost the full freedom of American citizens. The rights of free speech, free press, and free public assembly, for example, gave ample scope for agitation by factions favouring independence. No effort was made to curb

such agitation as long as it was carried on in an orderly manner. Further, the most extensive effort at education in any colonial area of the world was inaugurated. Schools were established in even the most remote villages. This was also in direct antithesis to the Spanish policy, which was fearful of any education save vocal instruction in Catholic ritual. Literacy among the Filipinos at the time of the American occupation was not more than 10 per cent in both the native Tagalog and Spanish. The Americans decided upon education entirely in English, for while Tagalog had been developed (in the Spanish alphabet) into something of a literary language, it was but one of nine major languages (including 83 distinct dialects) in the islands, and was not spoken by as many persons as the Visayan language. Today, in consequence of American educational policy, English is widely spoken and read from one end of the islands to the other, at least 75 per cent of the population know enough English for simple social intercourse, and 50 per cent can read some of that language. Many who do not go to school for long find it easier to read their native dialect, the vocabulary of which they learn at home, than English, and it may be conservatively estimated that at least half the Filipinos are literate enough to read and understand a newspaper in some language, even though not nearly so many could write an intelligible letter in any language.

Another aspect of the American education policy was its lack of integration with any definite political policy. Most of the early teachers were American, and some were out of sympathy with the American occupation and others aspired to make one hundred per cent Americans of the Filipinos. In either case, the teaching of American history, as it was carried on in American schools, tended to create an ideal psychological background for independence propaganda, whatever else any Filipino school-child ever learned, he found out and remembered that Patrick Henry enunciated the battlecry of 'give me liberty or give me death' in the revolt of the American colonies against England—but Filipino political education rarely reached the point of appreciating that the "taxation without representation" complained of by the American colonists did not exist in the Philippines. With the development of education there were more and more Filipino teachers, and most of them deliberately used the story of the American Revolution against England to justify and encourage Philippine independence from the United States.

All of the factors outlined were fructifying when President Wilson took office in 1913. He was a member of the Democratic Party that had traditionally opposed American annexation of the Philippines, although under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan the Democratic senators had furnished the necessary

number to make up the two-thirds majority required for ratification of the Treaty with Spain whereby the *de facto* possession of the islands was made *de jure*. The Democrats, however, were committed to the policy of eventual Philippine independence, and adoption of a law to this effect was among the first acts of the Wilson administration. Further, Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, whom President Wilson sent to the Philippines, was empowered to take the preliminary steps to this end. Mr Harrison had already had considerable contact with the Filipino independence group headed by Manuel L. Quezon, now president of the Philippine Commonwealth, and he entered office with their approval and co-operation, indeed, Americans in the Philippines regarded Mr Quezon as the real Governor-General.

Under the Harrison-Quezon régime, intensive Filipinization of the island government began. There was assuredly justification for the gradual supplanting of Americans by Filipinos in the government, but the Harrison-Quezon policy was undoubtedly too rapid for efficiency. Rather needless to say, most Americans in the islands were in violent opposition to the new order of things, but those in power there or at home paid no attention to their protests. The World War had started, and American interest was concentrated on Europe, not the Orient. Further, there had never been much interest in the Philippines anyway after their conquest had been completed.

For the American occupation of the islands had been an incongruous incident in the Spanish American war. Breaking the last European bonds on the Americas—in this case, the ousting of Spain from the West Indies—was in keeping with both the imperialism and the sentimentality of the United States, but a colonial empire in the Orient was a dream only of a few international bankers and the Kipling-inspired Theodore Roosevelt. The average American had scarcely heard of the Philippines before Admiral Dewey's spectacular victory in the Battle of Manila, and the resemblance of the name to the Philippians, who imprisoned St. Paul and to whom he wrote an Epistle, caused considerable confusion.

The annexation of the islands was popular enough and explained as follows in a memorable speech to a delegation of divines by President McKinley: "I walked the floor of the White House night after night, and I am not ashamed to tell you gentlemen that I went down on my knees and prayed to almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way—I don't know how it was, but it came—that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could for them."

as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died And then I went to bed and went to sleep soundly '

But after the first fervour wore off interest declined Not many Americans, only 12,000 by 1912, went to the islands Little American capital was ever invested there, because there were too many opportunities at home or closer home—in Latin America It was also learned that Christianization had been quite effectively carried out by the Spanish to the extent of converting 90 per cent of the natives to Catholicism An efficient government was provided, and education as already described was carried out, and American engineers and health experts made the islands into the garden spot of the Orient—but almost entirely through money and labour provided by the Filipinos themselves and without attracting any appreciable attention at home

There was never, for example, any organized group of Americans with ties to the Philippines in the United States—such as the associations of Englishmen with ties to India in England—to zealously work for American interests Instead, the Philippines were always best represented in the United States by those who supported their independence

So the Harrison-Quezon Filipinization campaign was carried out without check by the time President Wilson retired from office in 1921 With the Republican Party—which had been responsible for the original annexation—in power again some effort was made for a restoration of American authority in Manila But what had been done could hardly be undone, the Filipino politicians, as Governor General Leonard Wood discovered, were too entrenched to be easily dislodged, especially in view of American apathy in the matter Further, an attempt to undermine the self-government achieved inflamed the agitation for complete independence

Meanwhile a new element entered into the situation during the first post war decade agitation for Philippine independence by certain well-organized American groups because of economic reasons After Cuba became a virtual American protectorate, certain New York banks financed a huge sugar industry there, and since Philippine sugar entered the United States duty-free, while duty was levied on Cuban sugar, a conflict of interests developed. Hawaiian sugar interests also objected to Philippine competition American dairy farmers found that Philippine coconut oil, from which oleomargarine is made, competed with butter Southern cotton farmers found that it also competed with cotton seed oil Hemp, which is a natural monopoly of the islands, competed with cotton in certain manufactured products, and also with sisal which had been developed in Mexico by certain powerful American financial interests The southern cotton

farmers and the American-Cuban and Hawaiian sugar financiers were the most active groups in supporting Philippine independence, the latter supported Filipino independence politicians, while the former even indulged in pro-independence mass meetings.

With the vocal Filipinos demanding independence and powerful American groups favouring it, and no large, organized group objecting to it, the Tydings McDuffie Law was enacted on March 24, 1934, to provide for complete independence in 1945. An interim régime known as the "Commonwealth of the Philippines" was to be established meanwhile. Under the law certain limits were imposed on Philippine exports to the United States, the annual sugar quota was fixed at 50,000 long tons\* refined and 800,000 long tons unrefined, that for coconut oil at 200,000 long tons refined, and that for hemp at 3,000,000 pounds. These quotas are to enter the United States duty free, but in the sixth year of the Commonwealth a Philippine export tax of 5 per cent *ad valorem* is to be imposed, increasing 5 per cent each year to the ninth year when it is to be fixed at 25 per cent. Foreign relations during the Commonwealth are to be in American hands, and the President of the United States through a High Commissioner is given the right to veto any financial measures. A trade conference is scheduled for this year to determine American-Philippine trade relations after independence. During the Commonwealth period the United States is to seek neutralization of the islands by international treaty. American naval bases are not affected, but there is to be a conference about them not later than two years after independence comes into effect.

Following the Tydings-McDuffie Law, the Philippine Constitutional Assembly was called in Manila and a constitution adopted on February 8, 1935. It was modelled in the main after the constitution of the United States, but with some differences. There is only one legislative body, a National Assembly of not more than 120 members. Suffrage is based on ability to read and write. The president is elected for six years and is ineligible for re-election in the following term. Natural resources are declared to be the property of the State and their utilization is limited to Philippine citizens or corporations with 60 per cent. Philippine capital, except that all existing rights, grants, and leases at the time of the establishment of the government are to be recognized and respected. The State may provide for compulsory arbitration in labour-capital or landlord-tenant disputes. After the inauguration of independence the government will be called the "Republic of the Philippines."

A referendum was held on the constitution, approval of which meant approval of the Tydings-McDuffie Law. Over a million

\* A long ton, which is widely used in the United States, is 2,240 pounds.

votes were counted, but all reliable observers agree that not more than half that many were actually cast. There were but few votes, however, in opposition. So the Philippine Commonwealth came into being on November 15, 1935, and is scheduled to give way to a completely independent republic on July 4, 1945—American Independence Day. The actual change has, so far, been fundamentally insignificant, Filipinization has merely been carried a little further than it was in the Harrison Quezon administration. A Filipino, Mr. Quezon, now officially occupies the Malacañan instead of an American, and the continued control by Washington over foreign relations and finances is exercised by a High Commissioner instead of a Governor-General. Only two departments of the government, education and forestry, now have American directors, and except for 125 American school teachers (out of a total of 2,800) very few Americans are still employed in any capacity.

Up to the present the Commonwealth regime has carried on without giving cause for major criticism. While much of a demagogue out of office, President Quezon in office has proved himself sober and shrewd. Economically, the islands today are one of the most prosperous places in the world. Prices for coconut oil and sugar are exceptionally high, and a huge mining boom is under way. Part of this is due to hectic speculation that may lead to an economic crisis later on, but in actual gold production the Philippines now rank fifth largest in the world. Last year's production was more than £3,000,000, and this year it is expected to amount to about £4,000,000.

But with the imminence of independence there is increasing doubt among responsible Filipinos about its desirability. As a matter of fact, none of them—not even such professional politicians as Mr. Quezon and his chief rival at present, Manuel Roxas—probably ever really wanted independence, rather they agitated for that in hope of thereby getting what they now have—a sort of dominion status under the American flag—but as a permanent, not temporary, measure. However, having got what they asked for they can hardly object to it—at least just yet. And they see a possibility of escape from being entirely cast upon their own resources in the present most uncertain world through the one "loophole" in the Tydings-McDuffie Law—a conference not later than 1947 on the continuation of American naval bases in the island.

On the other hand, the lack of consistency in American policy to the islands, and the constant pressure of groups in the United States to curtail Philippine imports, greatly complicate the situation. This might be best brought out by quoting the replies of both Mr. Roxas and President Quezon to the same question.



"What can the Filipinos get through being independent that they haven't received under the American flag?"

President Quezon first replied by speaking of man "not living by bread alone" and the desire of the Filipinos for a chief executive of their own race, but subsequently he made this very sound observation "We have no assurance that even if we were a dominion of the United States, Washington would not cut off our exports. We are taking a risk whatever we do. American politicians might change trade relations at any time. For example, despite the Tydings-McDuffie Law, an excise tax was put on coconut oil—which is the same in effect as customs duty on it. Since we have to take a risk, we had better take it on our own responsibility than on the responsibility of others."

Mr. Roxas first replied that "independence is largely a matter of sentiment," adding that an orator could get an immediate enthusiastic reaction by a pro-independence speech, but "in two hours he probably could not make an audience understand that American rule was preferable to independence." Then he, too, advanced a more convincing economic argument, pointing out that a "gentlemen's agreement" had been reached between Washington and Tokyo on Japanese textile imports into the Philippines without consulting Manila. Not only, as he said, had the agreement failed to curb Japanese imports, but the Commonwealth could not pass a tariff law against these imports both because of the agreement and the fact that Washington has the right to veto any financial measure. Further, he offered documentary evidence that a group of Philippine capitalists were prepared to finance a textile industry in the islands provided they could be assured of tariff protection against Japanese textiles.

With or without independence the Philippines face a serious situation if their present market in the United States is more curtailed than by the present Tydings-McDuffie Law up to the sixth or seventh year of the Commonwealth. For example, 60 per cent in value of all Philippine exports is sugar, and without the American market the sugar industry will be ruined, because there is no other outlet for production. And on an equal basis, Cuban sugar is cheaper than that of the Philippines. In other lines production could continue without a free American market through extensive wage reduction, today the Philippine standard of living is by far the highest in all Asia, and this has been made possible only through the integration of the island economy with that of the United States. Economically, American rule has been more profitable to the islands than to the United States.

Further, there are very serious doubts in many quarters—non-Filipino as well as Filipino—about the ability of a Philippine Republic to pursue an independent existence in the hectic Oriental

world of today. The Commonwealth Government, of course, must exude official optimism, but absolute certainty is not registered even in the Malacañan. The writer asked President Quezon and Vice-President Osmeña the same question. "Do you believe that the Philippines by 1945 will be able to stand alone in the present Far Eastern world?" and Mr. Quezon answered in categorical affirmative, but Mr. Osmeña replied, "I am not too sure."

So far there have been no economic preparations for independence. The present period is one of great uncertainty, and hence not encouraging for investments of a permanent nature. President Quezon hopes that the trade conference scheduled with the United States this year will remove some of the present uncertainty and pave the way for economic readjustment, but any trade concessions on the part of the United States which are favourable to the Philippines will undoubtedly be opposed by the same groups that have been seeking to get rid of the islands.

Political preparations for independence have included an extensive militarization programme under Field-Marshal Douglas MacArthur, former chief of the American General Staff, who is military adviser to President Quezon. By this programme the entire physically fit male population will be conscripted and trained in ten years. Twenty thousand will be trained at a time, beginning this year. According to Field Marshal MacArthur, this plan will make the islands so impregnable that their conquest would not be profitable. Other military experts are sceptical. Actually, it is believed in well informed circles that the real plan is to tie up the Philippine army with a continuation of American naval bases after "independence"—which would provide better defence of the islands than now exists, but would probably also mean some sort of American protectorate. Prior to the Commonwealth there was only a small volunteer Filipino army and not many more American regulars, with the result that the burden of defence rested almost entirely on the Asiatic Fleet of the American Navy.

There are no major internal questions to disturb the Philippines. There is a certain amount of agrarian unrest in consequence of usury and tenancy, but nature generally is kind, and while there is considerable maldistribution of population, there is no overpopulation in the islands as a whole. President Quezon has launched a grandiose scheme of settlement in Mindanao, the sparsely settled second largest of the islands, to relieve overpopulation in Luzon, the largest island (where Manila is located), and the Visayan (middle) islands. There are also political implications in the project, for it is in Davao, Mindanao, that the Japanese have established a large and thriving stronghold.

In parts of Mindanao and the other southern islands, especially

Sulu, there are the somewhat dissident group of 500,000 Muhamadan Moros—the only important non-Christian section of the 14,000,000 population. They were converted to the creed of Islam about four centuries ago, and thereby acquired a higher degree of culture than the rest of the Filipinos then possessed. Further, they started conquest of all of the islands, and probably would have succeeded if the Spanish had not intervened. This was just after Spain's wars with the Moors, with whom the early Spanish invaders in the Philippines confused the Malay Muhammadans hence the name *Moro*, which is Spanish for Moor.

While Spain prevented Moro conquest of the non Muhamadan areas of the Philippines, she never succeeded in bringing the Moros under her sway. Nor did the United States do so until about 1910. Thus the Moros acquired a considerable reputation for ferocity and, having regard to their traditional hatred of the Christianized Filipinos, many observers predicted dire consequences if the Americans withdrew from the Islamic areas. Actually, the Moros offer no serious obstacle to the peace of the islands unless they should be stirred up from outside. Compared to the present-day Filipinos, they are backward and disunited, nor is their antagonism to the Christian Filipinos now very pronounced. But they still could be utilized in the same way that the Mongols have been in Manchuria and the extra mural regions of North China, and in at least some Moro areas Japanese agents have already been active.

This is another important aspect of the fear among most of the politically conscious Filipinos that the island would not be capable of standing alone in the present Far Eastern world. Indeed, one hears everywhere from Manila to Jolo in Sulu this belief voiced: 'The ultimate destiny of the Philippines is not American sovereignty or independence, but American or Japanese sovereignty.'

Japan's efforts to penetrate the Philippines antedate her present bid for empire by almost 500 years. In 1440, 81 years before Magellan's discovery of the islands, Japanese pirates established little kingdoms in northern Luzon. Shortly after the Spanish occupation, Hideyoshi, famed pirate and war-lord, planned to invade the islands, but he was placated by two Spanish tribute embassies. In 1580 a Japanese pirate fleet did attempt to invade Luzon, but were repulsed. In 1592 an envoy of Hideyoshi came to Manila and entered into diplomatic relations with the Spanish, which resulted in a Japanese Philippine offensive and defensive alliance, but this was quickly broken through the massacre of several Spanish Catholic missionaries in Japan. Meanwhile, however, Japanese immigrants started coming to the islands, and by 1609 there were 3,000 near Manila. Record of them is lost, but it is

believed they were massacred in the suppression of a native revolt a few years later

From that time until near the end of the Spanish occupation there was little contact between Japan and the Philippines. The first Japanese consulate was established in Manila in 1888, was closed in 1893, and reopened in 1896. There were then only 16 Japanese in the city. In the same year there was a native revolt against the Spanish, and the Japanese agreed to supply arms to the insurgents, but the rising was crushed before the arms arrived. But in the revolt of 1898 against the Spanish, and in subsequent warfare against the Americans, Japanese did supply the Filipinos with arms, while Marquis Ito urged Japanese intervention to obtain Philippine independence.

Since the American occupation there has been a slow, steady Japanese migration to the Philippines until the Japanese population today numbers from 24,000 to 30,000, exact figures are lacking because there has been no census since 1918. While the number of immigrants is small, never more than about 1,000 a year, they are obviously selected and supported by their Government for definite economic purposes. About 15,000 have settled in Davao, and have there obtained through freehold or leasehold 58,000 hectares of the 120,000 hectares of cultivated land in the area. The Philippine land laws are designed to prevent alien ownership, and Japanese freeholds have been acquired by various devices: marriages with Bagobo (mountain tribe) women, and an arrangement whereby Japanese owners are ostensibly the tenants of Filipinos. However, according to President Quezon, "there is no direct evidence of illegal occupation." Through the Davao development about 45 per cent of the total hemp production is in Japanese hands and Japan takes about one third of the total hemp export.

Japanese trade penetration has been pronounced only within the past five years. The Filipinos have never shown much enterprise nor efficiency in commerce, and the bulk of the retail trade was long in Chinese hands without serious competition. The Chinese bazaars sold considerable Japanese goods, but Japanese imports were not large. In 1931, after Japan started her conquest of Manchuria, the Chinese merchants throughout the South Seas started an anti Japanese boycott. In consequence, Japanese merchants, with the backing of their Government, began entering the Philippines in large numbers in 1932 and opened larger and cheaper bazaars than the Chinese operated. Today fully one-fourth of the retail trade throughout the islands is directly or indirectly in Japanese hands, the Chinese merchants are, in self-interest, now forced to promote the sale of Japanese goods, and some of them are financially backed by Japanese firms.

The greatest Japanese trade advance has been in textiles, which is the largest single import. Up to 1935 the Philippines were the largest foreign market for American textiles, which were imported by Americans and retailed by Chinese. From 1932 to 1935 Japanese textile imports steadily mounted, and the Philippine Assembly prepared to impose a high tariff on them. This plan was halted by Washington, presumably because it would have brought retaliation against American imports into Japan, and the previously mentioned "gentlemen's agreement," effective January 1, 1936, was negotiated instead. By this measure Japan was to be limited, direct or via Hongkong, to exporting 50,000,000 square metres of piecegoods, roughly half of the total consumption, to the Philippines. There was no limit on rayon. Nor could the agreement prevent imports from the Japanese mills in Shanghai. There is also doubt whether it is Japan or the Japanese merchants who have failed to observe the agreement, in any event, 75 per cent. of the cotton piecegoods and 98 per cent. of the rayon now consumed are coming from Japanese mills. Total Japanese imports now amount to more than £2,600,000 annually, while Philippine exports to Japan are only half that amount.

In natural resources the islands are far more tempting than any part of China, even of Manchuria. The Philippines have an area of 114,000 square miles, compared to 148,756 square miles in Japan proper, and probably 60 per cent. is arable while only 20 per cent. of Japan is arable. Thus, according to a Japanese standard of living, the Philippines could support a larger population than Japan's present 70,000,000. On the other hand, there is no room for settlement in China, and the Japanese are much better adapted to the Philippine climate than they are to that of Manchuria. The Philippines have the only extensive forests in Eastern Asia, amounting to 20,750,000 hectares and containing timber worth £2,000,000,000. In minerals there are, besides considerable gold, the largest known chromium deposits in the world, and more and better iron than in the whole of China and Manchuria together. While rubber production is little developed now, enough could be grown for Japan's entire needs. The copra (coconut oil) industry is already well developed, and enough cotton is now grown to indicate that its extensive production is feasible.

In short, the Philippines could be much more of a "life-line" to Japan than Manchuria ever was, and there may be mordant prophecy in the frequent Filipino reference to Davao as "Davao-kuo." But I trust that such forebodings are not justified.

## THE DUTCH EMPIRE IN THE FAR EAST\*

BY MR CH J I M WELTER

(Ex-Minister for the Colonies, Netherlands)

THERE IS a remarkable similarity in structure between the British and the Netherlands Imperium. In both cases a comparatively small mother country exercises political and economic control over extensive, densely populated areas overseas. And with both a part, viz., that which is situated in the Far East, occupies a very special place. Both nations call that part "India," the Netherlands frequently with the addition "Netherlands."

I think it was the first Lord Cromer who said that India not only occupies a special place in the British Empire, but also in the heart of the average Englishman, it is just the same with the average Netherlander.

In my opinion this is based on a wonderful blending of practical sense and sentiment. Both Indies are, naturally, of enormous economic significance for the respective mother countries, but besides that, those remote regions have had a fascinating effect on mankind from olden times and certainly, therefore, on the nations that have been destined by fate to exercise a particular influence on the Indies.

It is known that the Spaniards, in seeking India, discovered America, and for a long time after the discovery they believed that they had finally arrived in the mysterious Indies. To this day the indigenous inhabitants of America owe their appellation of Indians to this error.

Spaniards and Portuguese afterwards discovered the real Indies, but, if the Philippines are excepted, their rôle in the Far East has been a transient one.

It has been reserved for the two kindred nations, the British and the Netherlanders, to impress their own, permanent stamp on the economic and political development of the Indies. It is also noteworthy that the growth of the political power in the Far East of the British and the Netherlands has proceeded along parallel lines, with both nations it was a private company, conducted and managed by merchants, which formed the foundation of the political power exercised later directly from the mother countries.

\* Based on an address delivered before the Royal Empire Society Summer School at the University of Bristol.

It is unnecessary for me here to conceal the fact that both nations have struggled bitterly for supremacy in the Far East, in the Western as well as the Eastern Seas. That struggle has long been settled, and all that is left of it is the esteem and appreciation that, even in the struggle between the two oldest seafaring nations, has never been lacking.

By a strange freak of history it was an Englishman, Thomas Stamford Bingley Raffles, who exercised such a great influence on the political and economic development of the Netherlands East Indies. During the Napoleonic Wars, Netherlands India was temporarily occupied by the British, and in that period, from 1811-1816 until after the Congress of Vienna, Raffles, as Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its Dependencies under the Governor-General Lord Minto, exercised the highest authority over the Netherlands colonies in the East.

Raffles was, undoubtedly, one of the great figures in the colonial history of every nation, a statesman of exceptional stature, only history has learned to know and appreciate him as such.

For us Dutchmen the memory of Raffles is indissolubly associated with Java. Here lay his principal field of activity, both as a scientist and as a governor, here he unfolded his gifts as an organiser and a statesman. It was in Java that he introduced for the first time in the history of the world the principles of modern colonial government, whose application has in many respects survived to this day. For instance, the system of land taxation, known by the name of *landrent*, the right granted to the population to elect the chiefs of the villages, afterwards called by us "the palladium of liberty," his administrative reforms.

There is in the Holy Scripture a word of deep wisdom, like so many others, which says "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be." And Raffles' heart was most certainly in Java. That is the reason—a reason in my opinion raised far above all political controversies—which joins him to us, which makes him almost one of us. Whoever has read that wonderful book by Raffles, *The History of Java*, must have found on many pages the expression of his love for that beautiful island and its inhabitants. The man who wrote a book like *The History of Java* must have had his pen directed not only by his brains but also by his heart.

When the events coming after the Congress of Vienna cast their shadows before them in this part of the Far East, Raffles wrote to his home Government

"If I were to believe that the Javanese were ever again to be ruled on the former principles of government, I should indeed quit Java with a heavy heart, but a brighter prospect is, I hope, before them. Holland is not only re-established, but,

I hope, reunited      I will hope that the people of Java will be as happy, if not happier, under the Dutch than under the English. I say happier, because Java will be more to Holland than she could ever be to England, and the attention bestowed by the one country must naturally be greater than that likely to be afforded by the other.'

It is impossible to deny greatness of soul to the man who, writing this, knew that the day on which he would be obliged to leave Java would be one of the saddest of his life. I feel it to be my duty to pay the tribute of my respect to that great Englishman.

At the meeting point of two oceans, the Indian and the Pacific, with Malacca and Singapore as junction, Netherlands India extends two million square kilometres, inhabited by 70 million people, distributed over thousands of islands, spreading over a distance as far as from the Azores to beyond the Ural. One of our writers has described the Archipelago as a garland of emeralds twined round the Equator. Economically that situation is extraordinarily favourable, strategically it is very important.

The population of these islands are in the most divergent stages of development. There are to be found among them, as appears from Raffles' description of their character, highly civilized peoples, whose origin, history, culture, and literature are closely connected with the most highly developed peoples of British India, among them are also found head hunters and people that are still living at the level of the Stone Age. They are all included under Netherlands rule, which has made a political unit of the Archipelago, where, under the Netherlands flag, quiet, order, and safety prevail everywhere. The *Pax Hollandica* which we have imposed on them ensures to everyone the opportunity of development mentally and materially, at the same time their national peculiarities and the existing institutions and customs peculiar to every nation are respected.

The political problems with which we are faced show a resemblance to those with which Great Britain is confronted in British India, even though it must be admitted that for British India they are not only far greater in extent, but also more complicated and more difficult. The educated among the native population follow with strained attention the course of the political reforms in British India, which, and for that reason, are also of great significance for Netherlands India.

It may be considered as a gap in our system that our Government does not send its officials to make a local study of the manner in which the English solve the political problems with which they are confronted. On the other hand, the British Indian Govern-



ment gives too little attention to the course of political developments in our India. I think that it would be useful and advantageous if Great Britain and the Netherlands kept in closer contact with each other concerning the Colonial problems.

The Netherlands colonial internal politics rest on two main principles. The first is that the government of the native population shall be exercised as much as possible by their own princes and chiefs under the higher supervision of European officials. In so far as administration by native princes exists, they are left intact and endeavours are made to raise them gradually to a higher level, and to adapt them to the standards of modern colonial administration. For that purpose beside the native administration, European officials are appointed who maintain continual supervision over the actions of those bodies and endeavour to imbue them with the requirements which, in our opinion, are essential to efficient government. These administrations have their own finances and a budget that is kept apart from the general budget. In the territories where there is no administration by native princes, the population is also governed by their own chiefs, who, however, are our officials and are subordinated to the guidance and supervision of European officials. In order to distinguish these territories from the territories governed by native princes, they are called directly governed territories.

This system brings with it a sharp distinction between the native and European governing corps. Natives cannot form part of the European governing corps, neither can Europeans enter that of the native governing corps.

The second main principle is that in proportion as the population acquires the necessary fitness, a larger share in the care for the general and regional interests is granted to it. For that purpose a representative body, the "Volksraad" (National Council), was instituted in 1918, which at first had only advisory powers, but which a few years later was raised to the position of co-legislator. All statutory provisions, with the exception of a few which are reserved to the Government legislator in the Netherlands or to the Crown, are now made by the Governor-General, in accordance with the National Council. In urgent cases the Governor-General can make a statutory provision on his own authority, deviating from the opinion of the National Council, which then has the right to appeal to the Crown.

In addition, for a great number of communities and territorial units a system of representative bodies has been introduced, to which a considerable degree of autonomy has been granted. The members of these representative bodies are the electors of 38 of the 60 members of the National Council, in such a way that the European members elect the European members of the National

Council, the native members the native members of the National Council, and the Chinese their own countrymen. Each group of the population, therefore, chooses its own representatives in the National Council.

The remaining 22 members are nominated by the Governor-General, and the President is nominated by the Crown. Of the 60 members of the National Council 30 must belong to the native population, the other 30 belonging to the European and other groups of the population, the principal of which is the Chinese.

In every representative body all groups of the population are represented. Although by virtue of the Constitutional Law of the Kingdom the care for the internal affairs of India must be left as much as possible to the organs established in India, the Colonial Minister has to bear the full responsibility towards Parliament for the conduct of affairs in India. In this manner the people of the Netherlands maintain their control on the course of affairs in India.

The view is fairly generally held in the Netherlands that by these political arrangements, within a measurable space of time the political aspirations of the various groups of the population, particularly the native group, have been met in a reasonable way. In good faith and with the sincere intention of going as far as the circumstances allow, the Netherlands Government has introduced these political reforms during the last 20 years. Naturally, they do not constitute the last word that will be spoken with respect to these reforms, but any precipitancy, any rash step, may lead to undesirable consequences, to delay, and would impede development instead of furthering it. We Netherlands are known for our prudence, I do not think we shall allow ourselves to be tempted to take any ill-advised steps. I do not deny that this prudence is causing a certain peevishness among some elements of the native population. Our feeling in this matter, however, is that they want to reap the harvest before it is ripe.

In general, however, a certain reserve should always be made when judging the effects of our actions and our attitude on the Oriental mind. I fully endorse the words of Lord Cromer, the reorganizer of Egypt, and one of the best experts in Oriental affairs. "I have lived too long in the East not to be aware that it is difficult for any European to arrive at a true estimate of Oriental wishes, aspirations, and opinions."

For 70 years the finances of Netherlands India and the mother country have been completely separated. Under no circumstances does the mother country take any direct profit from her Asiatic provinces. All credit balances of the budget, in the times that these existed, come to the credit of Netherlands India. It is a fixed principle of the Netherlands colonial policy that the Government

of Netherlands India must find its basis and justification in the fact that it is exclusively directed towards promoting the mental and material well being of its inhabitants

A powerful means of attaining that aim has for scores of years been education. By founding simple schools on a large scale, where only the most elementary education is given, endeavours are being made to contend with illiteracy. Schools with a somewhat more extensive programme and elementary schools with Netherlands as a medium, are connected with them. By way of secondary schools the three universities can finally be reached, which Netherlands India possesses, the university for law, the university for medicine and the technical university, which stand on the same scientific level as similar institutions in the mother country.

One of the most remarkable problems with which the Government was faced was that it had taught hundreds of thousands to read, and that it then appeared that there was no suitable reading matter. In order to fill that gap, we created reading matter by translating works from the Netherlands and international literature into the native languages and distributing them in great quantities in extremely cheap editions. *Gulliver's Travels* has proved to be a very popular book, and no less the books of Jules Verne, the *Three Musketeers*, and the *Count of Monte Cristo*. Western love stories aroused no interest, apparently because the relations between men and women in the East differ essentially from the West.

Further, the Government also issue illustrated magazines which are, at the same time, made serviceable in spreading the knowledge of sanitation, agriculture, and cattle breeding.

It is evident that this may at the same time exercise great political influence, if only for the fact that if the Government did not fill the gap formed by the lack of reading matter, others would do so, and among them certainly some elements hostile to our authority.

Holland has attached great value throughout the centuries to a policy of independence, to keeping aloof from political intrigues and alliances, because she was of opinion that in this manner she acquired the strongest guarantees for the respect of all for her independent national existence. As a complement to this unyielding policy of independence, Holland has for 70 years followed in India the consistent policy of the open door in her commercial policy. In principle she still advocates this with unflagging zeal, although the commercial politics of other States have compelled her to grant some protection in the way of quotas on a limited scale to the industries of the mother country, which were experiencing great difficulties everywhere else. But with

respect to the import duties as well as to the investment of foreign capital and the settling of foreigners, she makes no discrimination whatever, not even in favour of the mother country. Everyone wishing to participate in the development of our Indies and who is prepared to observe our laws, is welcomed. Foreign capital has made ample use of that opportunity. It is estimated that a total amount of 4 milliard guilders is invested in agricultural and mining enterprises, and that 1 milliard of that is foreign capital, principally British. It may be assumed that at least 100 million pounds of British capital is invested in Netherlands India, mainly in rubber and tea estates.

This in itself already creates close relations between British and Netherlands capital, and no less the circumstance that London is the world market for various staple products of Netherlands India—e.g., rubber, tea, tin, pepper. It may be assumed that 8 per cent of the Indian export is directed to Great Britain, 82 per cent of the total imports in Netherlands India comes from Great Britain.

The economic position of Netherlands India is governed chiefly by the great agricultural export produce and by a couple of mineral products: mineral oil and tin. She supplies 90 per cent of the world production of quinine, 80 per cent of capoc, 80 per cent of pepper, 37 per cent of rubber, 24 per cent of copra, 23 per cent of fibre, 16 per cent of tea, 15 per cent. of oil palm products, 5 per cent of coffee, 5 per cent of sugar, 18 per cent. of tin, 3 per cent of mineral oil products.

The first three decades of this century display a rapid, almost uninterrupted rise in the export of these products, both as regards quantity and value. If one takes the graph of the value of the exports since 1900, one sees a line that displays a gradual, but continuous, rise until the year 1929. From upwards of 200 million guilders in 1900, the exports rise to 400 million in 1910, to 800 million guilders in 1918, to 1,200 million in 1922, and 1,600 million guilders in 1928. From 1929 the exports decline, and in 1933 they are about equal to that of 1911, viz., about f 525 million, in 1934 f 526 million, and in 1935 f 465 million.

Parallel with this steady economic development one also sees the growth of the budgetary position of India. The budget of the ordinary expenditure amounted in 1900 to only 137 million guilders, in 1910 214 million, in 1918 442 million, in 1922 759 million, in 1928 784 million guilders. In 1929 expenditure is still rising to 833 million guilders, to decline rapidly to 485 million in 1934, to 471 million in 1935, and 457 million guilders in 1936.

I have participated personally in that economic and financial growth, and I must declare that it was a splendid record. All of us who served the Indies Government in that time had the feeling that we were working at the building up of a young, new country,

where, as a matter of fact, everything was still to be done and where the constant stream of gold from the Indian products made it possible to perform creative work.

In the first place, under van Heutsz, the greatest of the Governors-General after Coen, the founder of the Dutch Empire in the East, Netherlands rule was really established everywhere, the white spots on the map vanished.

Roads were constructed and railways built, education organized and extended, public health was cared for, hospitals built and clinics established, irrigation works constructed, new services aiming at fostering the welfare of the people were instituted, in short, there was great new pioneer work to be done in nearly every field. We felt that we were all builders of a new state, younger, mightier, than the mother country, for it had ampler means at its disposal and offered greater possibilities, giving room for far more energy than was possible at home.

Then, in 1929, the great depression began to set in. The extent of this in our Indies appears best from the fact that the average value of the exports per gross ton amounted in 1928 to f 163 and in 1935 to only f 50. If the *value* of the exports in 1928 is placed at 100, in 1935 this was only 29 (1,588 million against 465 million). It is evident that this enormous fall in the prices was reflected on the entire economic situation and on the budget.

If the *volume* of the exports in 1928 is placed at 100, this was in 1935 still 98 (9.6 million tons against 9.4 million tons), which certainly accentuates the enormous fall in prices very sharply. The imports have, naturally, adapted themselves to the exports. If the imports according to the value and according to the volume in 1928 are both placed at 100, the value in 1935 is then to be placed at 28 and the volume at 57, a fall, therefore, of 72 and 43 per cent respectively.

When the catastrophe was realized and it was understood that this was not a case of one of those cycles of depressions, which our Indies has had to endure more than once, the consequences were accepted, and a start was made to demolish that which not long before had been built up with youthful impetuosity.

This has, of course, caused me, and many others with me, to ask: Have we perhaps made the mistake of wanting to build too quickly, too much, at once? Ought we not to have been more thoughtful, more mindful of the bad years that would come? Naturally, in a period of 30 years, in a time of phenomenal prosperity, mistakes have been made by the Government as well as by industry, and certainly by no means everything that happened in that time can bear the test of criticism. With the "perfectionism" peculiar to our national character, we have wanted to regulate all kinds of affairs too nicely and too well,

have introduced all kinds of regulations according to the Netherlands model, which, for a rising Oriental country were certainly not of the very first urgency, have called into being too many services with too many officials. I do not wish to minimise these errors, but nevertheless I am positively convinced that the line followed was, in principle, the correct one.

Colonial prosperity was very closely connected with the prosperity of the great export industries. Those industries were, however, owing to various factors co-operating in a most fortunate manner, established on such a basis that they were able to face the competition of similar industries in other tropical regions with success. Netherlands India was always able to produce at a lower price than other countries, if, therefore, there was over production of some commodity, other regions would have to give it up earlier than India and, as the world cannot do without the tropical products, we should be able to continue producing until the prices recovered. Economically this basis appeared to be so firm that it seemed justifiable to build upon it a state organization that was beyond the power of the mass of the population, which was small, to support.

In this connection we have not made allowances, and in my opinion could not do so, for a universal depression such as that which has occurred since 1929 and which has led to a general impoverishment of the world, neither could we foresee the universal economic evolution in the direction of self sufficiency, which has since taken place, and which, in many cases, causes trade and traffic to be impeded instead of fostered, nor that prices have often become of subordinate or no significance for the sale of products, because each country tries to manufacture within its own frontiers that which others can produce better and cheaper.

For these factors the universality of the depression, economic nationalism, the devaluation of the pound and the dollar, in which the prices of our products are expressed, we have made no allowances, and if this is a fault, then a "peccavi" is befitting upon the part of the generation that built up the greatness of Netherlands India.

However this may be, both the Government and industry, once the permanent nature of the depression was recognized, have adapted themselves energetically and rapidly to the altered circumstances. The Government accomplished this by a stringent economical action, reduction of salaries and discharge of officials, reduction of the rate of interest on loans, postponement of expenditure to the future, where this was possible in any way, and in this manner succeeded in reducing the ordinary expenditure from f 515 million in 1929 to f 324 million in 1936. Expendi-

ture, therefore, has declined since 1929 by 37 per cent, revenue by 47.5 per cent.

Probably in 1937 the budget will be balanced, except as regards the redemption of the debt. I would draw attention to the fact that Netherlands India is the only agricultural exporting country in the world that paid interest and redemption on its debts on a gold basis. Gradually we are now occupied in building up again what was demolished or injured by the economic storm. The depression has caused much suffering in the colonies, and much will have to be done before the Netherlands India of today can again bear comparison with that of 1929.

It was Marshal Foch who said that victory lies in the will, in the unconquerable spirit which affirms that a battle won is a battle in which one has not admitted one's defeat. Well, we have had the will to conquer the depression and we have not been defeated.

There is a universal feeling that developments are taking place in the Pacific Ocean which will have consequences for the whole world, for the whole of mankind. The nations of the East have awakened from an age-long lethargy, and a new age in the evolution of a considerable part of mankind has dawned.

This places both Great Britain and the Netherlands before problems that our fathers could not even have dreamed of. We are endeavouring, each in our own way, to solve them with due observance of the historic development and the dispositions of the two peoples. Both are supported in these endeavours by long experience as a colonizing power, by the fitness for the guidance of Oriental peoples who have had their own development in the course of centuries.

There are not a few who think that the rôle of the white races in the East is played out, that the West lacks the strength and energy to give guidance to the masses in the East now that they have once been set in motion, and that therefore it is compelled to witness the genesis of the new world that is evolving chiefly as a passive spectator. On the basis of a thirty years' colonial experience I venture to contest this poor-spirited view with all my might. The task of the white people has changed in the last decades, it has become more difficult than before, often more thankless, too, but he who doubts the ability of his people to fulfil that task, doubts the vitality, the right of existence of his own people.

If the colonial policy of Great Britain and the Netherlands for the last decennia is considered, one cannot escape the impression that, although not faultless, in its general lines it bears witness to a fine sense of moderation and proportion, which has enabled us hitherto to find the right way. A long colonial experience has

caused us to feel by intuition, as it were, what we have to do and what to leave alone. Moreover, the Netherlander and the Englishman carry with them a number of good gifts from home, which serve them well in the government of Oriental peoples: intelligence tempered with good nature, moderation and a sense for authority in the attractive attire of good form. But the most brilliant qualities of the mind, the most refined culture, courage, and self-denial—as history proves—need a framework, and that is tradition.

Our tradition induces us to send our sons to the Indies to aid in carrying out the task of the mother country, long, honourable tradition inspires the administrative officers to persevere, to put personal disappointments aside, because, above all, one's country has to be served even beyond the bounds of our strength.

There are those among the older ones who look back despondently on the past, which, in their opinion, was so much better, in which the Government was so much stronger and more vigorous, and the people who were governed so much more willing and obedient. They are of opinion that this is the consequence of errors committed by inexperienced leaders in the mother country, who in this manner have undermined the foundations of the Government in the overseas regions.

I do not wish to deny that mistakes have sometimes been made, but do not let us forget that the times have changed and the people also. "Change! There is nothing but change. It's the one constant," Galsworthy has said. "Well, who wouldn't have a river rather than a pond?" This is just the symbol I need to indicate the colonial policy followed by both countries. The peoples we have to govern may in former times have been comparable with ponds, now they are that no longer. They have become like rivers, which may sometimes be turbulent, sometimes destructive in their course, and great skill and wisdom are required to guide the course of their development into orderly channels. That task is difficult, but it is certainly of a higher order than keeping a pond of stagnant water in good condition, and if the choice were left to us we should most certainly have preferred the river to the pond.

Finally, which is the higher, nobler task, which will give more satisfaction: the governing of a stupid, inert mass, or the governing of an intelligent people amenable to ideals, slogans, misguidance, but just because of that also to guidance?

Let us therefore not complain about that task but have faith in carrying it out in what I should like to call "the genius of our nation," that indescribable gift of the old democratic cultured nations of being able to distinguish between right and wrong, to practise reasonableness and fairness on great lines. For my part,



I believe in that and I am convinced that the great lines of the Netherlands colonial policy, as outlined by Parliament in the Netherlands, frequently in opposition to the views of the executive authority, have been correct. And this, I have no doubt, will have been the case also in Great Britain. Thus faith must be our guide, must give us the strength to do what has to be done, calmly, without precipitancy, in spite of criticism, in the consciousness that we are doing our duty in good faith towards the millions that have been entrusted to our care.

## THE BARODA CIVIL SERVICE

BY STANLEY RICE

It is no small achievement to have created order out of chaos, to have raised a State from the depths of misgovernment to the position of one of the best administered in India, and to have maintained this high standard during a reign of over 60 years. That is the record of the Maharajah of Baroda. It is true that the foundations were laid by Sir T. Madhava Rao, one of the foremost of Indian statesmen in the past, whose name is still remembered in the State. But his work was only half done when he was obliged to hand over the reins, and we must not forget that nothing is easier than for an Indian State to slip back into the old ways. There is the strength of tradition to be fought and mastered, there are vested interests to be overcome, there is perhaps a natural inclination to hand over the work to subordinates. And nowhere more than in India is the saying "Like master, like man" exemplified, as the Collector of a district is, so will be the staff, and it is safe to say that as the Ruler is, so will be the Civil Service, which actually performs the day to day administration.

The Civil Services of Baroda are modelled on the lines of British India and have continued to evolve on them. For purposes of Revenue and Police administration the State is divided into four districts, called in the vernacular which is used for many of the posts, *Pranths*. These *Pranths* are determined by the geography of the State, which consists of four main blocks, three of which are separated by strips of British India, while the fourth is in the peninsula of Kathiawar. This scattered arrangement of territories has been brought about by the workings of history, into which we need not enter now. It has, however, made the administration more costly and more difficult, inasmuch as boundaries are fixed, not by convenience but by nature. The small peak at the north-west corner of Kathiawar which contains the sacred town of Dwarka, the domain of Sri Krishna, adds to these difficulties. It is inhabited by a race of fishermen called *Waghers*, who have given trouble in the past but are now for the most part quiet and contented. The main *Pranths* are subdivided again on the British Indian pattern, there are Assistant Collectors (*Naib Subas*) and *Tahsildars* (*Vahivatdars*), as well as some small subdivisions under *Mahalkaris* (Deputy *Tahsildars*). The police

Subas and Naib Subas control the Police administration and work under the Commissioner at Headquarters

Revenue and Police, however, do not and cannot represent the whole administration of any country, and so we find Engineers, Doctors, Judges and Magistrates appointed to the several Pranthas and to the more important places in them. But as the calls on the State purse are incessant and always growing, it is natural enough that the salaries can only compare with those of the provincial services. Baroda is under the further disadvantage that being so scattered and interspersed with British Indian territory the extra pay to be obtained there attracts men who would otherwise be content with State service.

The system of land tenure is ryotwari, as one might expect from the close relations of the State with Bombay Presidency, and there is consequently a Survey and Settlement Department with rules modelled on Bombay, which also deals with tenures special to the State. The incidence of land taxation is probably in parts higher than that of British India, but it is not oppressive and remission is generously given when necessary. Quite recently the Maharaja sanctioned the suspension of all re-settlements because of the slump in agricultural prices.

I must pass over in a very few words the principal departments at Headquarters, which are to be found everywhere. The Sar Suba, corresponding to the Commissioner, is the executive head of the Revenue Department. The Varisht or High Court has a Chief Justice and a panel of competent Judges. The Chief Engineer controls the Department of Public Works. There are two or three special departments which if not peculiar to the State, do not seem to have an exact parallel in British India. One of these is the Development Department (under the Pragati Adhikari). This officer was to co-ordinate the efforts of various other departments. Commerce, agriculture, co-operation and ports all clearly fall under the general head of Development. There is, however, now a Development Board which seems to have superseded this single officer to some extent. The Maharaja has for many years been attracted by the idea of fostering industries, but with what results it is difficult to say. Baroda is greatly handicapped in the matter of roads, not only is it difficult to get material for construction, but it is also difficult to find the money to maintain them, in a country where there is hardly a stone to throw at a dog. The Maharaja has always favoured rail ways, of which he has a large mileage and consequently a special Railway Department.

But perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Baroda Civil Service is its importations from outside and its system of scholarships for State servants. It is quite common to borrow a man

from the Government of India, to improve this or that branch of administration. Not very many of these are Europeans, the State has generally been sufficient to itself and there have been only two English members of the Council, it is rather Indians with British Indian experience that the Maharaja and his advisers favour. And from time to time promising State servants are sent to Europe at the expense of the State, which, however, carefully grades them according to rank. These young men go, usually to England, to study the profession for which they feel themselves most fitted. Some are doctors, some engineers, a few may be lawyers, but the sole obligation they undertake, as far as I know, is to serve the State for a number of years, failing which they are to refund the money spent upon them.

The Maharaja has opened the schools freely to the depressed classes and has provided many for them alone. There are hostels maintained for them at Government expense, special scholarships are provided in all classes of schools, not excepting Baroda College, and a special Deputy Inspector, appointed from the community, is also employed. The Maharaja has gone a long way towards abolishing the outward distinctions of caste among the educated, but he has not found it possible to eradicate entirely the feeling towards the depressed community, though they are treated on the whole with greater tolerance than in South India.

The activities of the State are almost beyond its means adequately to fulfil. Whatever is attempted in British India is reproduced in the State and it may be acknowledged that British India is always ready to help if it can and if it is asked. The anti malaria campaign is an example of a scheme admirable in its intention and cheap in execution. It was started by the training of the State Sanitary Commissioner at the school for the purpose at Karnal in the Punjab. The Co-operative Department, on the other hand, has not been as successful as could be wished. The figures both of membership and of finance are doubtless imposing, but if there is any real enthusiasm for the movement it is of very recent development. For a long time too much was put upon the Registrar, between whom and the auditors there was no supervising authority. Government were not unnaturally loth to add to the already large Civil Service, but they have now appointed an Assistant Registrar, trained in England, and that is at any rate a step in the right direction.

Municipal and Local Government is perhaps no better and no worse than it is in British India. The Maharaja has hitherto been content to go slow and has kept local government more or less in the hands of the Government by nominating the chairmen who are the real executive officers of such bodies. Though apparently he has no great faith in the existence of such public spirit

as would justify him in leaving these bodies entirely to themselves under the general supervision of the Government, yet there are signs that such a public spirit is gradually asserting itself. It is rather in the rural areas that there is still weakness. Some at least of the smaller units are too weak financially to support the burden of administration. Consequently what little money there is is expended on the pay of a clerk and the maintenance of a band of sweepers and very little else. That is the result of an over-anxious desire to copy British India where, too, it must be admitted, there are many places where the result is not much better. These local bodies were formerly divided into Pranth Panchayets (District Boards) and Taluka Boards, but this it was found tended to create a duplication of work, and it was for this and for other reasons that it was decided to abolish the latter and to concentrate every thing in the Pranth Panchayet. The smaller boards were apt to apply all their energies to a few villages which were known to members or where they lived, whereas the Pranth Panchayet, under the chairmanship of the Pranth Suba, could be expected to have a wider outlook.

It goes without saying that to the Maharaja his Civil Service has been and is a constant care. The selection of candidates is made by a committee, most of whom are high officials serving as permanent members, but there is usually one member appointed *ad hoc* for the choice of candidates in a particular branch, if the recruitment is for candidates in the higher ranks of the police, the Police Commissioner will thus be co-opted, if for Education, the Director of Public Instruction or the Principal of the College, as the case may be. There is no Civil Service House as in Hyderabad, nor is there any training in British India. But there are classes for the training of clerks in ministerial duties, presided over by an officer specially chosen for the purpose. It is difficult to say how far this has been successful, since the only way to learn is to do the actual work. Every Civil Servant in British India will acknowledge that the training at an English University, the examinations which had to be passed in India (unless perhaps those in the vernacular language) and the work he was given to do while still *in statu pupillari* were all of little advantage to him compared with the actual experience and the real responsibility when he received his first independent charge. You could learn more in three months of the latter than in three years of the former. Baroda also maintains study circles, not for candidates but to enable officers to become more fully acquainted with the problems of their work.

The Maharaja has delegated very large powers to the Council, which to some extent controls even the Privy Purse, but, as in other Indian States, the power to make appointments is cen-

tralized in himself, with the result that the higher officers have not got the patronage which similar officers in British India have. But the posting of officers to the right places arises frequently and is often troublesome. It is perhaps characteristic of a nature so keen on the welfare of the State and with State affairs that His Highness is prone to change his officers about from one department to another, 'in order to give them experience.' Opinions may differ as to the advisability of this, it may be said that in fashioning the tools the object for which they are there is lost sight of. But in this and in other directions already mentioned the Maharaja does show that he regards the Civil Service and their training of the first importance, and the changing about of his officers is his own method of getting the best possible service at his command. It is true that they may not be up to the standard of the higher British Services, that for reasons mainly of pay and opportunity may be impossible. Though perhaps lacking in imagination, on the whole the Services are efficient and loyal.

## LIGHTER SIDE OF INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE

BY FAREED S JAFRI

(Late Editor of *The Asa Meerut*)

THOSE who have not gone beyond the purlieus of the metropolis cannot really claim to have any conception of the gaiety and riotous joy that prevails on several auspicious and notable occasions in the Indian villages. The very ignorance of things that lie beyond one's knowledge is largely, if not solely, the cause of all the prejudices and misunderstandings. Such people, for instance, can scarcely believe or imagine that a villager, in spite of the prevailing gloom which really constitutes his limitations in life, has many bright moments when he can be hilarious and care-free. In fact, his ill trained and unschooled mind has made him an exceptionally genial person with a fine disposition and a fund of natural spirits as are often seen only in school-children let loose from the school or in an animal freed from its tether. He is not "merry and wise," as men with refined and polished manners are, but indulges in mirth to excess and often even to the extent of oddity. It is true that his tastes are not of a classic order and his pretensions are not lofty, but still he enjoys, and enjoys more than the refined and polished folks of the city. Hence it is idle to maintain, as men with fastidious tastes generally do, that only the civilized centres of the world have their invidious fascination and the life in the villages is desolately dull and wretched.

An Indian villager, comparatively speaking, has to labour strenuously hard to find the wherewithal to support himself and those dear and near to him. More often than not he has to discharge manifold and monotonous duties all the day long with practically little or no rest. Thus after a hard day's labour, when he repairs home quite spent out, he naturally yearns for some sort of recreation that will rightly serve as a relaxation. If he be a superannuated man with senile shortcomings, his principal occupation is to sit in the company of his friends, by the side of a fire during winter, and carry on a merry but harmless conversation. This is the village club, which is more familiarly known by the name of "alao" and is rather a poor counterpart of those social institutions which are found in some of the modern cities. The "alao" is the rendezvous of the village populace who collect in large numbers to discuss frivolous topics and hear some intelligence not only of the village, but also of its neighbouring parts, and even from far-off lands. In a way, the club serves as an

effective medium of communication of a variety of information—good and bad—to the villager. At times it is also a “school for scandal” where topics which are calculated to mislead and inflame are discussed in a light vein. In such a club the place of honour is usually assigned to the oldest man of the village, who, by common consent, is regarded as being endowed with a sagacious and catholic frame of mind. He speaks agreeably and familiarly of several things and makes many of his friends the butt of much clumsy ridicule. At one time he talks of the political situation of the country with vehemence and predicts a world war. At another time he laments the depression in trade and the sharp fall in the prices of commodities. He chides the young folks of the village for their immoral and extravagant habits and finally delivers a sermon on political economy.

There are a number of rural games in which the youngsters of the village with buoyancy of spirit engage themselves frequently. The strongest and those gifted with a herculean constitution delight to vie with one another in strength. On a day when all the village is at rest the two men renowned for their strength and valour are selected to exchange friendly bouts before a small but orderly crowd. This is generally known as ‘kushti,’ or a wrestling match. The victor and the vanquished are equally applauded in their performance, and the gathering finally breaks up without any manifestation of rancour or ill-feeling. There are several other games which a villager plays. In fact, some of the games are of such a peculiar kind that it is difficult for one with refined tastes to understand how any pleasure could possibly be squeezed out of them. Thanks to the recent and energetic endeavours made by the Government to ameliorate the conditions of the villagers, several associations have been formed in the villages to develop the physical culture of the rural folks. Though these associations have introduced certain innovations in their methods, still sufficient care has been taken to encourage the villagers to play their ancient and popular games. Even to this day the urchins of the village generally play what is known as “gulli-danda.” This is something analogous to the golf played in Scotland. “An elongated piece of wood with pointed edges on either side has to be struck with a club and then struck again in the air. Each side usually consists of three players. The game starts with one of them striking the ‘gulli’ placed within a square. The best scorer travels from hole to hole in the minimum number of strokes.” This is indeed an amusing game and is not so much meant for physical exercise as for the mere joy of playing it.

Another well known game and which is universally played is called “kabbaddi.” This is principally an Indian version of the



English game called "Tom Tiddler's Ground" Two teams, of ten each, play The field consists of three parts, and the central portion is known as no man's land and the remaining two portions are at the disposal of the two teams They attack in turns, sending a man who runs across the central line into the defenders ground shouting "kabbaddi!" "kabbaddi!" and must return to his own side before losing breath If after touching a defender he succeeds in crossing the middle line, his side wins a point. If he is held back, his side loses a point. The success or failure is determined by the number of points gained It will be clear that this is a roughish game in which only the strong can participate with advantage

Another game which is common in the villages is that of "goli," which is nearly akin to the English billiard minus the table and the cues and the balls made smaller and of crude material The ball is held between two fingers of the one hand while the first finger of the other hand pushes it with strength to aim at the opponents' ball This game develops concentration and aim and is most popular among the young folks of the village

Children of more tender ages play what we call hide-and seek, and the hiding-places are the cowdung hills, haystacks, and hollow places on the earth Grown up people are not debarred from partaking in this sport, but the elders are scrupulously excluded.

Since most of the villagers earn their livelihood by manual labour, their one supreme concern is to retain a vigorous constitution, and it is to achieve this end that they delight to play games that would be of real benefit to them

A frequent visitor to the village, who is given a cordial reception, is the itinerant juggler His arrival in the village is received with transports of joy and enthusiasm, particularly by the children, who delight to see the man's miraculous and novel feats Before a motley crowd he exhibits his skill and all the tricks of which he is master His most common trick, which is absolutely transparent, is to toss two brass balls, to keep up the movement by sleight of hand, and increase the number to four and more. When he is certain that the onlookers are interested, he proceeds to show a variety of tricks which all elicit universal admiration. The juggler is able to succeed partly because of his ingenuity and mostly on account of the fact that the villagers as a class are unsophisticated and credulous

The acrobats and rope-dancers also are much favoured people The hair breadth escapes, the dextrous feats, and the deft movement of the rope-dancers are watched eagerly and followed with awe and wonder There is another type of diversion in the villages, rather a grotesque performance, which needs more than

passing mention. Some buffoons, clad in tattered finery, move about in the villages showing their oddities in a way that makes them the cause of much laughter.

A "lilli ghori" is another welcome visitor to the villages. This is a man with a clay horse head and humps tied in front and back of him, the nether limbs being concealed by a frilled petticoat. The man strikes a lash in the air and runs and dances, exciting mirth and applause among the spectators.

The snake charmer with his basket of snakes and his pipe is a very common sight in the villages. He can be seen sitting at a door playing his pipe, and the snake with its hood raised looking straight at the pipe. Young, old, and children of both sexes gather round him, and he collects a respectable amount in cash and grain on the completion of the performance.

"Gulabo, sitabo," and "indar sabha" parties also visit the villages. The former hold two wooden dolls on their fingers and move them to and fro to the tunes of their songs or in response to their words, while "indar sabha" is a more elaborate device with a small tent and man standing behind the curtain, moving the dolls with strings and making them dance to the tunes of music played by others of the party outside the tent. The hidden man also answers in a strange whistling voice all questions put to the dolls by the music party.

Then there are also other professionals with monkeys and bears, all trained and made amenable to their orders. The monkeys are always in pairs, and they are so cleverly trained that they enact in public the bickerings between the husband and wife, much to the amusement of the rural folks. They are made to dance and do other fantastic movements of the body which send the crowd into peals of laughter. Young children love to see bears, and so they are often brought to the villages. These animals are made to wrestle, and they are taught to dance on their hindlegs. It is indeed a unique sight, mostly of interest only to the urchins of the village.

It is said that music is a fine art, and that to understand or appreciate a melody or symphony one must needs have refined and polished tastes. This is not the whole truth. Even savages and those living in a semi-civilized state of society have often shown remarkable aptitude for music. In the oft-quoted lines of Shakespeare

The man that hath no music in himself,  
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,  
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils

Alas, how true is this in life! So it is far from right to suppose that the illiterate and uneducated villagers are not visibly moved

by melodious tunes. The village bards entertain them with pleasing ballads, eulogizing the deeds of their forefathers and representing them as men of stainless virtue. Mr F L Brayne, in his book on village uplift, has said that most of the village songs are composed in plaintive numbers and are indicative of the sorrow and grim life of the villager. This is not quite correct. The song of "Alha Udal," which describes the military feats of two brothers of that name and which is very popular in villages, is an example of the incorrectness of this assertion. One has only to witness a party singing this song and its exhilarating tunes to see how the village people delight in them, and are fired by the great feats of the heroes of the song.

Again, the songs at the village well by women who draw water will readily show even the most superficial observer how merry are their tunes and how happy the villagers feel to hear them. The well is the principal meeting-place of the women of the village, where they indulge in gossip and sing their popular songs in chorus. To this day their voice can be heard, like some far-off melody, in some distant field where they sing loudly in order to lighten and lose their irksome load of water buckets. During the rainy months, when there is not much work in the open fields, women spend their time in some indoor recreations, the most important of which is 'jhula,' or swing. Two ropes are hung from the roof of the house or from the branch of a tree and a small plank of wood is sustained at the end. On this plank they sit and swing high and low and sing with rapturous emotion songs specially composed for the rainy season. One such song that has been rendered into English is as follows:

So thou art a hermit in desert place  
But I shall try your home to trace with matted locks, appear  
    ance made,  
Save for a girdle body nude  
I too will take a hermit's oath,  
The life of yog will suit us both  
Far from the garden you pray, but I shall be there,  
Take of your alms a partner's share.  
We shall build a hut and together live,  
Then Swan will its pleasures give

A delightful spectacle that one should never miss in a village is the street dance. Especially on festive occasions, the young and old, men and women, dressed in gaudy colours, come out into the streets and to the accompaniment of an incongruous music played on instruments indulge in fantastic dances, though it is admittedly true that these dances have neither the grace nor charm of some of the most highly developed modern dances. But what is

notable is the exuberance shown on such occasions. It is to 'ginger-up' these ancient and Oriental dances that Mr G S Dutt in Bengal has been making recently indefatigable efforts. Thanks largely to his efforts, the folk dances in the interior of Bengal, which were for quite a long time partially observed or muffled, have been brought into prominence and vogue. These folk dances originally existed in many of the Indian villages, but now certain changes have been brought into it simply with a view to give a colour of modernity and attract wider attention. The dances are conventionally classified into two kinds: one is 'the Kathak dance' and the other "the Jori dance". The former bears a striking resemblance to the sword display as practised to this day by the Highlanders in Scotland, and the latter is more or less the same as the modern Morris dances. But the most interesting aspect of the folk dance that must command our attention is the "Brattachari movement"—which, in fact, is the principal innovation that has been introduced. This needs a word of explanation. Like the Knights of the Round Table, those who take part in these dances are pledged to a life of chastity, cleanliness, self-sacrifice, and other ideals of life. These vows are called "Brattas," and those who scrupulously observe them are known as the "Brattacharis". In order to give a touch of sanctity to the folk dances and to raise them from their low level, these 'Brattas' have been introduced. Perhaps the day is not far off, provided Mr Dutt and others of his school of thought show a sustained interest, when these folk dances, which are reminiscent of India's ancient art and tradition, will occupy a pre-eminent position in some of the best opera houses of the West.

A crude sort of theatrical performance commonly known as "Nau Tanki" is also very popular in villages, especially in those of the United Provinces. The play consists of religious stories of Hindu mythology, such as the Ramayana, and is accompanied by music and songs which commonly appeal to the villagers. These "Nau Tanki" players, like Gilbert and Sullivan players of England, roam about from place to place and sometimes are invited on festive occasions. They generally come from Muttra and Rajputana.

No account of the Indian villages can really be complete if no mention is made of the "Nathargali" performance on the west coast of South India. This is to be seen only in the villages of Malabar and Travancore. A legend or a chapter from Hindu mythology, such as the Ramayana or Mahabharata, is selected and is enacted in public. The interesting feature is that all the dialogues are omitted and there is no speech making whatever. The entire show is a pantomime. By gestures the story or the sense is brought out, and since most of the people are well

acquainted with the theme, the movements are quite intelligible to them. Music is no doubt played, but that is only to synchronize with the actions. It is said that this used to be a court performance during the days of the ancient Hindu kings, and, oddly enough, like a peak in a submerging world, it has still survived in its original form in many of the villages in Malabar. By far the most able exponent of this ancient art is the famous Indian dancer Udaya Shankar, whose performances in Europe and America are well known and widely admired. It will thus be clear from all accounts that a villager enjoys life in his own way like city people and considers relaxation from his hard work necessary.

In conclusion, it may be said that with more education and contact with modern civilization, due to the development of communications, modernity is slowly penetrating into villages in many spheres, including the resources of physical culture, and occasionally we find the villagers playing even such modern games as football, hockey, and cricket.

## FRENCH INDO-CHINA\*

BY PIERRE TAP

## II

## THE EDUCATED MAN

IF domesticity is the resource of the mass of the Annamite population, public duties and, failing these, sedentary commercial occupations are the resource of educated Annamites

There are officials in a position of authority (assistant prefects, prefects, governors), usually called mandarins, whose business is the administration of the country under the control of the French authorities. They are indispensable assistants of the latter, not only in protectorate territory, but also in regions which are directly administered. The absence of any French authority over vast areas, even in the over populated delta of the Fleuve Rouge (Red River), where village after village, close together, lies hidden behind its bamboo defences, demands the presence of many native officials for the maintenance of order, for postal services, and for the distribution and collection of taxes. Under the old régime there were no hereditary feudal rights, and those which powerful governors sometimes assumed were often put an end to by the caprice of the Sovereign. The system of examinations and competitions, so popular in imperial China, flourished in the country of Annam. Every mandarin was therefore, and remained, primarily a man of letters. He took every possible step to accentuate this impression, slender in his long flowery tunic, emaciated as an ascetic through indulgence in opium, despising the people and manual labour, he exercised, with his soft voice which he never raised and without the use of a gesture, a pitiless despotism largely fortified by extortion and the use of the rattan.

French control, assisted in its task by the people, has imposed restrictions on these thoroughly indigenous methods, but has not entirely done away with them. Certain mandarins of today blame the French for having brought them into disrepute by appointing candidates for posts who are not men of letters, such as ex-soldiers, former "boys," ex-orderlies or clerks. They also blame the French for sapping their authority by providing a form of education which tends to give the individual an appreciation of

\* The earlier part of this article appeared in the October issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW

his own worth and of his own rights. Their real grievance, however, rather than these specious wrongs of which they complain, is that they have been deprived of certain of their profits, fixed salaries having been substituted and mercenary administrative measures prohibited. Under this régime they are compelled to reduce their demands and are only able to exploit with caution and in moderation those over whom they are set. Every grade of employee receives a *douceur* from the peasant, the orderly who opens the office door to him, the clerk who draws up a receipt, the mandarin who welcomes him when he brings a petition, when he pays a tax or when he applies for justice. He pays when he enters a hospital, which is supposed to be free, the coolie drawing his weekly pay gives a gratuity to the clerk who is paying out, if he buys a stamp at the native post office he pays one *sapeque* (one half cent) more than the price printed on it. The French authorities do their best to cope with this universal exploitation of the humble peasant and strive to hasten the moment when they will be able to stop it.

Annamite Government officials are very numerous under the French administration, about fifteen thousand are to be found in the offices of the Governor-General and in the Residencies, Customs and Excise, Post and Telegraph Service, Education Office, etc. In the many departments of the States of Indo-China they make excellent junior clerks, are rather slow, but careful, methodical, more attached to the letter of the regulations than to their spirit.

The faculty of deduction and reasoning, of logic and of constructive and creative imagination is generally lacking in them. They are good assistants, but poor managers.

Regular mechanical work, which is always the same, suits their tastes. On the other hand, the Annamite as an accountant sometimes requires to be watched. As soon as he is in possession of funds, he finds it necessary to restrain himself, gambling, opium, and dancers are expensive amusements, and his pay is not enough for the purpose. As a result every year there are at least a dozen cases of cashiers taking flight with the till, to mention only the postal service.

Their loyalty is beyond reproach, but it would not be safe to reckon that it would stand the test of all circumstances. Undoubtedly they are not satisfied with their condition as subordinates. Further, they are inclined to comment ironically and sometimes angrily on any little mistake which we may make. They think themselves quite capable of forming the nucleus of an independent Indo-China, because they carry out the less important work involved in the administration of French Indo-China. But unfortunately neither diplomas nor competitions can in them-

selves provide qualities of character without which the finest intellectual gifts are worthless

On the border of Annamite society is the educated man who, not having succeeded in securing a mandarin's post and not content with being an employee, becomes a schoolmaster, journalist, publisher or writer, awaiting the day when he can be a member of parliament. He may be a republican in Annam, where there is a king, and a communist in Cochinchina or Tonkin, where there is already a republican form of government. Though inclined to vanity, he will ask for grants of money, stipends and honorary distinctions without exhibiting any particular hesitation in the matter. The classic type of the man of letters, a philosopher and lover of opium, an anachronism left over from the Chinese régime, was at least picturesque. The educated man of today, taking pride in a science which he barely understands, perhaps seen to be wearing patent leather shoes at eight o'clock in the morning, dressed like a European, does not arouse much sympathy, unless in exceptional cases.

It is just this class, insignificant in numbers and importance, to which the public authorities both in France and Indo-China are inclined to listen. The Annamite is a clever critic, but does not possess constructive faculties. The projects for constitutional and administrative reform, put forward by their inexperienced doctrinaires, are apt to be crude and childish in conception. It is only the people of the towns, workpeople and servants, who can be persuaded by their theories.

#### THE PEASANT AND THE LABOURER

These constitute the great mass of the population of Indo-China. The labourer, bricklayer, navvy, miner, farm labourer is recruited almost entirely in Tonkin, where the delta does not afford enough rice land to feed the population. The Tonkin labourer is long-suffering, strong, and skilful, he feeds himself on twenty cents a day and has two meals which include fish, rice cooked in water and covered with *nuoc nam*, and a cup of tea without sugar, he is contented with insignificant pay ranging from twenty five cents a day for a labourer and one piastre for a qualified workman. It is difficult to keep him to a piece of work, he vanishes on some slender excuse when he has drawn his pay, and thus delays the completion of work in hand without regard for undertakings signed. His output is poor, about half that of a European workman. As a result the industries of Indo-China—sugar factories, tanning work, glass factories, metal works and coal mining, which are mostly conducted under very favourable conditions—show profits which are poor and intermittent. Only those prosper



in which the individual output is a secondary matter, such as transport enterprises, railways and tramways and electricity works.

The peasant or *nhaqué* is the typical Annamite, the man who remains in his element. He is occupied in cultivating one thing only, his rice which serves both as bread and potatoes, and he breeds one animal only, the buffalo, which is his indispensable assistant in rice growing. The remainder is merely accessory production: maize, sugar-cane, cassava, and tobacco. Fruit trees grow indiscriminately and nearly always without any attention, bananas, pineapples, papaws, areca nuts, cinnamon fruit grow freely in the villages, and the ancient pagodas seek coolness and mystery amid the thick shade of mango trees.

The Annamite is rarely the owner of the rice field, where he wallows with his buffalo for part of the year. Anyone travelling in May or November by the fine roads of the Tonkin delta will see everywhere crops extending over infinite distances without a tree, a hedge, or a meadow. Yet the peasant seems less happy here than elsewhere. It would seem that on this enormously fertile soil he cannot succeed in gaining an easy livelihood.

The reason is that he farms the land, but does not own it. To raise money for a lawsuit, a fete, a game of *baquan*,\* he will sell his field, his buffalo, his hovel to some mandarin or tradesman or state employee. The latter lends him, at an interest of 10 per cent. per month minimum, fifty piastres which the poor wretch will never be able to repay. So gradually the rice-field becomes the property of some comfortably-off town dweller, who continues to extract from it a revenue commensurate to that of his money.

The Annamite tills the soil as in the early days of the world. Mud from the river, conveyed through innumerable channels, takes the place of phosphates and manure. His plough consists of two pieces of bamboo set at a sharp angle. The never-ending programme of the seasons demands the ritual tasks of planting out, weeding, and harvesting. The crop is poor enough, but this alluvial land is so favourable to spontaneous germination that, except in case of floods, a pittance is ensured throughout the year.

Peaceable and easily led, the *nhaqué* would be an admirable subject for European rule, far kinder and more equitable than that of his fellow-natives, if he knew anything about it. But, credulous and superstitious, he listens to the native bonze, doctor, or schoolmaster who, when explaining events to him, attributes all misfortunes and exactions to France and all progress and benefits to the sons of Annam. This propaganda is favoured by the fact that there are few Frenchmen outside the towns and by the difficulty of coming into contact with them. Further, political parties in the mother country have put into circulation formulas

\* A game of chance

which are not applicable, but which wear a liberal aspect, such as the evolution of the native inhabitants within their own form of civilization. But if the West no longer believes in its moral superiority, it cannot achieve results in the Far East.

#### RELIGION OF THE ANNAMITES

Religion, as it is understood and practised by the people, is a form of polytheism at the head of which is Buddha, the god, or rather the man god, with countless spirits, good or bad, which people the waters, the woods, and the mountains.

This god must either be beguiled or conciliated if his anger, which perpetually threatens, is not to be incurred. Prayers and rites consist essentially of brief invocations, accompanied by mechanical gestures indefinitely repeated.

Ancestor worship runs side by side with the cult of Buddha, it originates in the instinctive fears of all primitive races connected with the dead and the mysteries of the beyond. The spirits of the dead make their influence felt with those members of their families who are not zealous with gifts and expressions of regard. They must be propitiated continually. Incense, food, prostrations, all these are to be found at the family altar erected in the humblest hovel to the shades of dead relations. Annam is essentially the country of "outward marks of respect."

The form of morality resulting from this type of worship induces a certain family and social sense of fellowship, but does not go beyond this. Ideas of disinterested sympathy, which the Christian world of the West calls charity and the positivist philosophers altruism, are not the custom in Indo-China. Under the kings of Annam every beggar or cripple was to be cared for by the village of his birth, this practice having been abolished, wrongly as it seems to me, many of them would starve within sight of the unconcerned passer-by, were it not for the fact that the missions have established shelters, workshops, and centres for free meals in the vicinity of the large towns and with the support of the Government.

During recent years there has rapidly developed, especially in the southern provinces, a new religion called *caodaïsme*. It is a curious mixture of the Christian doctrine and the rites of Buddha. In Cochinchina, where the neutrality of the French authorities enables proselytizing to be undertaken without restraint, its followers are numerous and active, the kings of Annam and Cambodia, however, do not allow any *caodaïste* propaganda in their states.

Warmly attached to his family traditions and little inclined to metaphysical speculation, the Annamite, like all the yellow peoples

of the Far East, does not take to the religions of the West. Only the Catholic missions, firmly rooted in the country since the end of the eighteenth century, have any considerable numbers of believers in the three Annamite countries of Cochin China, Annam, and Tonkin. Churches, schools, orphanages, agricultural enterprises, all are evidence of their widespread activity and of their powerful hold upon the country.

The Annamite loves the ceremonies of worship when they are enthusiastic, elaborate, and followed by sumptuous feasting. He lives in the present and is attracted by the concrete. Disputes as to dogma leave him cold, but he takes an interest in the form of even the most ordinary rites. Unlike the Arab and the Hindu, any form of mysticism as a rule repels him. But he lives in continual fear of the demons who haunt his house, his garden, the marshes and the woods. He must rid himself of them, therefore, by force of stratagem. Hence the explosion of bombs which is always a preliminary to native fêtes. And hence the attempts, rarely successful, to run quickly in front of a motor-car at full speed in such a way that only the demon, who follows close behind one, is crushed.

The Catholic Annamites, who in some places form bodies of considerable importance, should be mentioned separately. They are very faithful, not so much to France as to their Church, and thus afford valuable support when the interests of France coincide with those of the Church, and this event is fortunately the most frequent. It is therefore not only humane and just, but also politic to protect the existence and work of the missions, which the Government have not yet succeeded in Gallicizing completely. The whole of the most populous part of the delta of the Fleuve Rouge, from Than-Hoa to Moncay, is served by Spanish priests and bishops.

#### THE NON-ANNAMITES

I shall not say much about these, as my experience of them is smaller. The Laotians and Cambodians are lazier and more backward than the Annamites. Their activities are exclusively concerned with the search for the day's food. They are patient people, fatalistic and easy to handle, they arouse no apprehensions, but encourage no prospect of any rapid progress. Cambodia, however, seems to be entering upon a period of revival, agricultural, industrial, and artistic.

Indians are found in considerable numbers in the towns, those from French India are minor employees—postmen, policemen, assistant registrars, Customs and Excise clerks. Those from British India, almost all Mussulmans from the northern provinces,

are shopkeepers and pawnbrokers, watchmen or cashiers. They have a great reputation for honesty.

The Chinese swarm throughout Indo-China. How many are there of them? About three hundred thousand, but on this point it is useless to rely on official figures. They live in communities rigorously closed to others, they are a busy people, unapproachable, unassimilable, in the present state of the economic life of the country they are indispensable in Indo-China. The Europeans themselves, traders or bankers, require their services as intermediaries, and it is not unusual for the Chinese *comprador* (buyer) to be the most important and best paid employee of a large French company. A Chinaman will open a hotel or run a grocer's shop in centres of population where no European would be willing to set himself up. A first-class trader, he buys, deals in and exports almost all the rice of Indo-China, and successfully carries out every imaginable kind of business.

Filled with pride in the civilization of his country, the Chinaman in Indo-China in most cases despises the man of the West and hates him. He is too polite and too much a realist to show this except in his own home, but there is no room for doubt in the matter. One would have to be very innocent to imagine that the Chinaman displays a preference for any particular European nation. He is inspired solely by his own interests, his affection is for his family only and, in some degree, for his fellow Chinamen.

The Chinese of Indo-China are aware that it is France alone which safeguards their lives and their wealth. In no more than four days' rioting at Haiphong in August, 1927, the Annamite populace massacred a large number of them. This threat of a pogrom, possible at any time, has made the Chinese the allies of the authorities, and docile taxpayers. The Chinaman is, in fact, an enemy who must be dealt with as such, he must be treated justly, generously but firmly.

#### EDUCATION

The Annamite is studious and keenly interested in European sciences. France makes every effort to satisfy his legitimate desire for education. Among 20 million inhabitants there are 435,000 scholars, about 45,000 of whom are educated in private schools and the remainder in State schools. The education provided includes

1. A complete French course of instruction (primary, higher primary, secondary) exactly like that of the mother country. This instruction is open to European children, of whom there are about 4,500, and to a small number of selected natives, about 1,000.

2. A complete French-native course of instruction, given in the native language in the elementary stage and in French in the three other stages. It covers 390,000 pupils.

3. Professional instruction, not yet fully developed, which is given to about 2,000 scholars.

4. Higher education (School of Medicine, Law School) with about 600 pupils.

The staff of teachers consists of 700 French professors and of 12,000 native masters. Further, about 200 native pupils are taking their secondary or higher educational courses in France.

In each French academy the natives are admitted on the same terms as the French. In fact, of a total of 2,000 pupils one half consists of Annamites and Chinese. This mixing has never resulted in any difficulties. Among the living languages included in the courses of instruction—English, Spanish, and Italian—the principal native languages are taught—viz, Annamite, Cambodian, Laotian, and Chinese.

To summarize, there are two parallel organizations, one for the Europeans, the other for the Asiatics, which give a complete education, the European branch being open to Asiatics considered to be sufficiently advanced. Fusion of the two forms of instruction is complete in higher education.

#### POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

In Indo-China France affords protection to three sovereigns—the Emperor of Annam, the King of Cambodia, and the King of Luang-Prabang. The Protectorate system consists essentially in the government of the country by the King and his officials, under the control of the representative of France, who also takes charge of foreign affairs.

French Indo-China further includes

Tonkin, in theory part of Annam, but actually directly administered,

Laos and Cochin China, which are colonies,

The territory of Kouang Tchéou-Wan, in Southern China, which is ceded to France under a ninety nine years' lease.

Each of the countries forming this Federation of States, except the territory of Kouang Tchéou-Wan, has political institutions adapted to the stage of its evolution. Cochin China, which has been French for the past eighty years, has a Colonial Council which fixes taxes and prepares a budget and consists only of elected members, French and native. The President may be a native. In the other countries, except Laos, there is a double form of representation, one for the French and one for the natives, both classes being selected. Finally, above these local assemblies there is the

Grand Council of the Economic and Financial Interests of Indo-China, its duties consisting in the preparation of the budget of the Federation and in the examination of all questions of general interest, with the exception of purely political problems

Thus Grand Council consists of 28 French members and 23 native members, of whom 6 French and 5 native members are selected by the Governor-General from among the leading men of the colony who are not Government officials. The other members are elected by the local assemblies of the various countries of the Federation in the following manner

The French members are

1 For Cochinchina—

Three members of the Colonial Council  
Two members of the Chamber of Commerce  
Two members of the Chamber of Agriculture

2 For Tonkin—

Three members of the Tonkin Council of French Economic and Financial Interests  
One member of the Hanoi Chamber of Commerce  
One member of the Haiphong Chamber of Commerce  
One member of the Chamber of Agriculture

3 For Annam—

Two members of the Annam Council of French Economic and Financial Interests.  
One member of the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture of Central Annam  
One member of the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture of Northern Annam

4 For Cambodia—

Two members of the Cambodia Council of French Economic and Financial Interests  
One member of the Combined Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture

5 For Laos—

One member of the Laos Council of French Economic and Financial Interests  
One member nominated by the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture

Until the Council of French Economic and Financial Interests has been established at Laos, the Governor-General, on the recom-

mentation of the Higher Resident at Laos, is to nominate from among the leading Frenchmen in industry, commerce, or agriculture the member required to act on the Grand Council in place of the delegate thus provided for

The native members are

1 For Cochin China—

Three members of the Colonial Council  
One member of the Chamber of Commerce  
One member of the Chamber of Agriculture

2 For Tonkin—

Three members of the Native Chamber of Representatives of the People  
One member nominated by the native members of the Tonkin Chamber of Commerce  
One member of the Chamber of Agriculture

3 For Annam—

Two members of the Native Chamber of Representatives of the People  
One member nominated by the native members of the Annam Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture

4 For Laos—

One member of the Native Consultative Chamber  
One member of the Combined Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture.

#### PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

A great number of official establishments have been founded for the improvement of the sanitary, moral and social condition of the native populations. There is a large body of civilian doctors throughout Indo-China, even in the most remote provinces, the hospitals for Europeans being still in charge of military doctors. The Pasteur Institute has also several institutions equipped with all modern improvements.

The present French Government is anxious that the natives of Indo-China should have the benefit of the social laws in force in France, but with the restrictions involved in the Asiatic position of the country, modified liberty of assembly, of association, and of the Press, working day to be reduced from ten hours to nine hours and then to eight hours, prohibition of night work for women and children. In the country districts the French Government is endeavouring to cope with money-lending, the plague of the Far

East, by repressive penalties and the institution of agricultural loans.

A recent decree grants automatically the rights of a French citizen to all natives possessing certain university diplomas or who follow certain professions. Further, the process of naturalization upon demand and after enquiry is much facilitated. We are therefore rapidly coming within sight of a law similar to that of Algeria with this difference, that in Algeria it is the immigrants of all races and the Jews who have formed a powerful group of new French citizens, while in Indo-China they will consist of a purely Annamite body of selected intellectuals, included with some five thousand citizens of French origin who alone today, with a thousand naturalized Hindus and Annamites, elect the representative of Indo-China to the Parliament of Paris.

The political dogma most cherished by French democracy is *equality*—equality of individuals and races and consequently equality of rights of individuals and races. This dogma, if applied in all sincerity, leads inevitably to complete *assimilation* as the sole democratic policy in the colonies.

But the Annamite people, like Cambodians and the Laotians, has been organized for thousands of years in accordance with an unchanging formula, the formula which the French economist, Le Play, quoted as the ideal for a civilized society: monarchy in the State, aristocracy in the province, democracy in the commune. France has hitherto respected this tradition, the form of Supreme Government is a monarchy with a representative system in which a parliament, elected in two or even three stages, is authorized to express opinions rather than to adopt decisions. The provinces are administered by a double oligarchy: a selected body of natives which supplies the provincial governors, and a French élite consisting of the Residents and their assistants, engineers, professors, and local officials.

Finally, the commune administers its own affairs through councils freely elected. It is here that the people of Annam may be seen deliberating and acting, exactly as in any assembly of the European democracies. But here the effort to assimilate should, for the moment, stop.

Democracy, as practised by the French Republic, will never suit Indo-China. This luxurious feature of advanced forms of civilization and of prosperous countries is nourished, in the political sphere, by the strife of parties, and in the social sphere by the strife of classes. This is certainly not the moment to introduce into Indo-China new motives for internal quarrels. The system which successive governments have constantly practised seems therefore the best. Since the French cannot administer direct the affairs of the peoples of Indo-China, they have exerted themselves



to substitute for a tyrannical and extortionist mandarinat, through which originally they had of necessity to act, a new élite composed on Western ideas, more closely connected with the people by its origins and aspirations

*(Translated)*

## IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION

BY F G PEARCE, B A (HONS ), F.R.G.S

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THE Federal Constitution so soon to be inaugurated in the continent of India is not likely in itself to give rise immediately to any new situations in the field of education, for the simple reason that education is even now a provincial subject controlled by Indian ministers. But there can be little doubt that the advent of provincial autonomy will intensify in steadily increasing measure the urgency of certain of our educational problems. Fundamental those problems have always been of recent years they have been seen to be pressing, under the new conditions they will become immediate. The purpose of this article is simply to underline those which seem to the writer to be of the most far reaching importance, and to suggest lines along which their solutions may possibly be found.

There have been in the past not a few who held that problems would be created rather than solved by the spread of education on Western lines in India. It may be that there still exist a considerable number who are privately of that opinion, but few express it, because it is perfectly clear that willy nilly the tide will rise and, unlike King Canute, they prefer not to get wet feet. But, also unlike Canute, they have the advantage of modern scientific knowledge and should be able to ensure not only the avoidance of a ducking for themselves, but, in due course, that the tide shall be the source of useful power. Herein lies, however, a great danger, and one which has only been unmistakably demonstrated during the last few years. Education, not only extensive but even intensive, does not always make people intelligent. Sometimes it makes them gullible. It is no doubt really a misnomer to apply the term 'education' to any process which leads away from intelligence rather than towards it, but, so long as the word is generally used to cover the business of conditioning the minds of the masses, the best that can be done is to distinguish between the "penny plain" and the "two pence coloured" varieties—between education and "education."

Does "education" help to make people gullible, then? Surely the answer is that, in so far as it does not make them able to think for themselves—whether of set purpose as in totalitarian states, or through inefficiency as, for the most part, in India and many

other countries—it undoubtedly renders it easier for determined men to gain power by using the literacy of the masses as the soil in which to sow propaganda and from which to reap the crop of blind devotion. Germany, the most intensively “educated” nation of the West, has proved this to the hilt. Japan, Russia, and Italy provide additional evidence of it.

Thus, it seems to me, is the problem of problems of our age, not of India alone, but for all nations, to “educate” or not to “educate”? No—it should not be stated so. For, the true alternative to “education” is not lack of “education”, it is *education*.

To be educated, if it means anything at all, surely means not merely to possess carefully tested information upon a fairly wide range of facts, but also to be eager and able to enlarge that range, and to form judgments with discrimination and tolerance, if not with impartiality. Even in a country like England, where schooling has been universal and compulsory for decades, it is now being realized that to make people literate, or even to make them book learned, is not by any means to immunize them against intellectual dope, or positively to render them more capable of considering current problems in an objective manner. So serious are the implications of this, in fact, that a special organization, the “Association for Education in Citizenship,” has recently been brought into existence through the efforts of a large number of distinguished British educationists, with Sir Henry Hadow as their President. The avowed object of the association is “to advance the study of and training in citizenship, by which is meant training in the moral qualities necessary for the citizens of a democracy, the encouragement of clear thinking in everyday affairs and the acquisition of that knowledge of the modern world usually given by means of courses in history, geography, economics, citizenship, and public affairs”, in short, to promote *education* as against “education”.

If such efforts, such safeguards, are deemed necessary in the most firmly established democracy in the world, how much more are they essential in a country like India, just about to embark upon a great experiment in self-government! It is this consideration that will colour, throughout, the brief presentation of India’s immediate educational problems and the possible solutions of them set forth in this article.

Three such problems will be here presented, one belonging to each of the main stages of school education—viz, primary, middle, and secondary.

The fundamental and immediate problem of primary education in India is not, in the opinion of many, its extension but its improvement in quality. It is true that out of nearly fifty millions of children of school going age in India only about thirteen mil-

lions are now receiving instruction, and figures such as these tend to make one feel that the obviously immediate necessity is a tremendous drive to open new schools everywhere, to begin to make up the enormous leeway at once. The matter is not so simple, however—if opening schools for thirty-seven million children can ever be called a simple matter! For, actually to open the schools might be a less difficult task than to ensure that they were capable of performing their work of establishing even a secure standard of literacy, let alone of *educating* their pupils. This is the deduction that can be drawn from the figures given in the official quinquennial report on the *Progress of Education in India, 1927-1932*, by Sir George Anderson, the then Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. From 1917 to 1922 there was an increase of 15,351 primary schools, accompanied by a corresponding increase of 529,404 pupils, from 1922 to 1927 the increase in schools was over 38,000, the increase in pupils being 2,776,146. It is clear from this that there *was* a big push in the latter quinquennium, but another set of figures will show what the increase was really worth. In 1927-28 no less than 4,022,418 children discontinued their education *before they attained literacy*, over three millions discontinuing after actually only one year of primary schooling! This means that in the case of nearly one fourth of the total number of children at school, the attempt made to educate them was practically wasted. The statistics from another point of view are even more appalling: out of every hundred children who entered a primary school in 1922 it is found that only eleven reached the fifth class in 1926, and it is certain that even of these some must have drifted back into illiteracy because the life of poverty they live gives them so few chances of reading.

It seems obvious that so long as the primary schools enable only about one-tenth of their pupils to attain even literacy, the mere multiplication of such schools is largely waste, and unless steps can be taken simultaneously to make primary education more effective the opening of more schools is unjustifiable. It follows, therefore, that the chief problem is the one stated at the commencement of this section—viz, how to improve the *quality* of primary education. On the answer to this all authorities are agreed: there must be a vast increase in the number of well trained vernacular teachers. From where are these to come?

To English readers the training of teachers probably suggests up-to-date arrangements for the demonstration of new methods, the latest equipment, a model practising-school, or at least the academic atmosphere of a dignified training institution in a city or country town. It is perhaps in part due to such preconceptions that trained teachers have hitherto in many cases not been as effective as they might have been in Indian village schools. The

clue to this is to be found in the following passage from a report of a recent committee of American experts dealing with the educational work of Christian missions in India. It runs as follows (the italics being mine)

"We would get further in the end if we closed one-half of our village schools and spent money in training teachers for the other half. What we need for village teachers are not foreigners nor even urban English-trained Indians of city schools. The one has never had, and the other has lost, the ability to think along the furrows cut by the Indian tradition. The need is for young men and women who, *having grown up in a village are used to its ways of living, and who have been given an education which opens their eyes to village and agricultural problems* and suggests the means of dealing with them."

It is from the vernacular middle schools that primary school teachers must in nearly all cases be recruited, and as the vast majority of primary schools must be rural schools (India being a country of scattered agricultural hamlets), it is in the improvement of the *rural vernacular middle schools* and the development of *rural vernacular training schools for teachers* that the crux of the whole matter lies. This was the opinion expressed by the Hartog Committee (the Auxiliary Committee on Education working under the Indian Statutory Commission in 1928). It is endorsed by Sir George Anderson in his Quinquennial Report, as well as by the missionary experts whose report is quoted above. The Hartog Report ran

"Money spent on expansion or improvement of middle vernacular schools and on vernacular training institutions will yield a larger and more permanently fruitful return than money spent on almost any other of the many objects which are dear to the heart of the educationist."

Good work has been done in this direction, particularly in the Punjab and the United Provinces, since the Hartog Report was written, but the fact stated is as true now as it was in 1928, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The solution of the fundamental problem of primary education is therefore the immediate problem of middle or lower secondary education. To that we shall now turn.

The middle stage of Indian education is generally taken as comprising the three (in some provinces four) classes between the completion of primary education, in class 4 or 5, and the commence-

ment of High School education in class 9. It is, in other words, the first portion of the secondary course, of which the concluding portion is the High School course.

This middle stage is in several respects the most important of all, in the present condition of India, partly because the vast majority of teachers from primary schools are recruited from the middle schools, and also because it is the critical stage at which for the vast masses of the population their cultural background, their civic outlook, will be formed. This is so, not only because middle education is the highest stage of education that can be expected to be made universal and compulsory in India within a reasonable period of time (and even that period may extend to half a century unless the rate of progress is greatly accelerated), but also for the more fundamental reason that it covers that stage of the child's psychological growth when the emotions are the dominating factor. It is, broadly speaking, true that whatever the child learns to love and whatever he learns to hate, at this stage, he will continue, more or less consciously, to love or to hate throughout life. His later intellectual training, whether in educational institutions or in the school of life, may help him to repress or to develop those loves and hates, but it cannot wholly counteract or change them. It is therefore of far reaching importance, from the point of view of the child's own harmonious growth, as well as for the sake of society in the country where he lives, that he shall at this stage be helped to love those things which may lead to his own all-round peaceful development and serviceableness to others, and to be averse to things tending in the opposite direction. The influences which can guide him in those directions (or away from them) are very largely those of the middle stage of education. It is not for nothing that Mussolini has compelled all Italian boys of this age to enrol in his corps of "*balilla*," and Hitler has suppressed all youth movements in Germany except those of the Nazi party.

The problem of the middle school is a problem of emotion, because the middle stage is the stage of development chiefly through the emotions. The problem then is to arouse the right kinds of interests and desires, the suggestion and discussion of means to satisfy them belongs mainly to the next stage.

What are the "right" kinds of interests and desires? Your answer to that depends, surely, upon your ideal for the country, as well as on the possibilities of the people you are dealing with. Macaulay's famous Minute on Indian education envisaged "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect." Much water has flowed down the Hughli since then, and few Englishmen and no Indians would now subscribe to Macaulay's idea. The Hartog Committee

naturally advocated the aim of "producing a competent electorate," or, in wider terms, "the training of broad-minded, tolerant, and self-reliant citizens." But even this aim needs qualification according as it relates to the citizenry of a rural or of an urban electorate, and this is particularly the case in a country like India, where the difference between rural and urban conditions is so marked.

One thing is perfectly certain: it is of the greatest importance that the interests and desires awakened during the middle stage of rural education should be such as may lead to the service and uplift of the villages and *not to their neglect and desertion*. As Sir George Anderson has said in his unofficial capacity, collaborating with Bishop Whitehead in the book *Christian Education in India* (Macmillan, 1932)

"What India needs more than anything today is a new and wider system of education, a system which will be in harmony with village conditions and requirements, which will train up boys and girls desirous of remaining a part of the village and of spending lives of service to the progress of the countryside."

It is in the Punjab, where Sir George himself was Director of Public Instruction for a number of years, that (no doubt largely as a result of his efforts and encouragement) the most effective steps have been taken towards the realization of this ideal. There Rural Science (embracing instruction in agriculture, village sanitation, co-operation, and elementary civics) has been introduced into the curriculum of vernacular middle schools, and, in order that the work should be *eminently of a practical nature, five-acre farms and one-acre garden plots are attached to the schools*. Moreover, "the training given to vernacular teachers has been revolutionized and is now closely related to village conditions" (Quinquennial Report, 1927-32, p. 123).

Unless the last-mentioned precaution is taken, simultaneously with the modification of the curriculum to cover the "right interests and desires," the latter will be of no avail, and this is why one of the most immediate requirements of Indian primary and middle education in most of the provinces and states is the establishment of many more vernacular training schools for teachers, attached to vernacular rural middle schools, on the lines of those in the Punjab. The tendency in some parts is to centralize training schools in the towns: not only does this deprive the students in training of the opportunities of learning how to deal with the rural problems which most of them will have to face, but it accustoms them to urban amenities and thereby renders them

sometimes unwilling to serve in places where such amenities cannot be had. There is, moreover, a very definite contribution to the central life of the village in having a training school in its midst, as has been pointed out in a recent publication of the Board of Education of the United Kingdom, entitled *Education and Countryside* (H.M. Stationery Office, London).

The middle stage is, as already mentioned, the most crucial because it is the stage in which loves and hates, interests and aversions, are most deeply formed. It is the stage when the seeds of adventure, of desire for knowledge, discovery, and invention, can most readily be either cultivated or killed, and when enthusiasms and devotions can be most easily aroused and directed, for good or ill. This is the time, therefore, when the curriculum should be as wide as possible, and scope and encouragement should be given for the immediate application of newly acquired information to affairs of daily life. In short it is the time for Practical General Knowledge, or Citizenship Training in its most attractive guise, such as collective projects, scouting, and school outings. In India, owing to the fact that high-school teachers are generally better paid than middle school ones, the more capable men are generally found in the high classes, where, instead of their initiative being encouraged through time being made available for activities of the kind mentioned above, they are expected to devote practically all their energy to cramming their pupils for the High School or Matriculation examination, from the results of which their efficiency and that of their school is very largely judged (by the public as well as in most cases by the educational authorities). Here, then, it is perfectly clear on what lines reforms must proceed, but the problem is how to make a start, for the headmaster who gives his best teachers to the middle classes and takes the risk of showing poorer matriculation results is also risking the loss of his job through flying in the face of public opinion. Public opinion needs first to be changed on this matter, and that is a question of time and steady educational propaganda.

Even in middle schools the same problem exists to some extent because of the Middle Examination. But this difficulty will be gradually overcome when the curriculum of the middle schools is widened and adapted to local conditions (as by the introduction of Rural Science in the rural middle schools of the Punjab), provided that (as also in the Punjab) the teachers' training schools are at the same time re-oriented so that the wider curriculum may be effectively taught.

My own opinion is that there is great scope in the middle schools of India for a more complete reform of the curriculum on lines parallel to those suggested for British schools by the Association for Education in Citizenship. It is quite possible (as I have



found by actual experiment in my own school) to recast the middle school curriculum, and, instead of teaching scraps of history, geography, nature study, elementary science, hygiene, physical exercises, and scouting, as separate and unconnected subjects, to frame a co-ordinated and progressive three years' course of general knowledge, including the essentials of all the subjects mentioned above, with plenty of practical and outdoor exercises, dealt with in a connected manner as a preparation for citizenship in the kind of society in which the pupil lives. With the present equipment of teachers it is sometimes necessary to allot different portions of the course to teachers who have specialized in the different subjects, but, if the matter were taken up on a wider scale, and the teachers' training courses modified accordingly, it should not be difficult to entrust each year's work to a single teacher. The introduction of such a course would be, I think, a most important step towards making our middle schools the seed farms not only of a 'competent electorate' but of an electorate sufficiently well informed and well balanced in judgment (because accustomed to demand a hearing for both sides) to resist the deafening propaganda of demagogues, would be dictators, and people of that ilk, and to make this country as "safe for democracy" as any in the world, if not more so because of the innate aversion to violence and the love of reasonableness and moderation which the majority of its inhabitants possess.

The urgent problem of the high-school stage is that of providing specialization for a large diversity of vocational training. As is well known, the policy based upon Macaulay's ideal has led to millions being passed through the same mill, and to their finding themselves on emergence qualified only for clerical work. As the available posts have not multiplied as fast as the available candidates, a stage has now been reached when tens of thousands find themselves unemployed and unemployable.

If there were any considerable shortage of qualified men in the skilled professions it would not be so difficult to see the way out. But, for the most part, that is not at all the case. There is unemployment among engineers, agricultural scientists, and even among technicians holding high foreign qualifications. There is scope almost only in trade and industry, and in farming. The former requires capital, which few of the unemployed classes possess, the latter offers so bare a subsistence and so dull a life that those who have had a taste of town life are the most unwilling to turn to it.

Gandhi's solution is to simplify men's tastes and ways of earning a livelihood, Nehru's is to change the system of land tenure and the ownership of the means of production. The one involves a change in human nature, the other in a traditional economic

order Both solutions, if they are at all feasible, require a long process of education as their aid What seems certain in the meantime is that all possible efforts are worth while in the directions recommended in the report of the committee which in 1933-35, under the chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, investigated the question of unemployment among the educated The principal attempt must be made, it would seem, towards providing outlets *before* the higher secondary stage of education is entered upon, as well as alternative vocational courses in that stage itself This must be done because under present conditions there is practically no alternative for an ambitious boy but to pass on from stage to stage of purely academic studies Finding no attractive facilities for vocational training at the conclusion of the middle stage of his education, he is naturally tempted to postpone deciding "what to become" in the hope that if he goes one stage further in education, some better opportunities will present themselves He joins a high school, therefore, with the object of matriculating Having achieved that, he finds himself in exactly the same position, with no alternative but to join a college and hope for the best when he has passed the Intermediate And so the process continues, in quite a large number of cases even up to the stage of a Master's degree, with the added disadvantage that by this time the victim is so thoroughly accustomed to urban life that he would rather starve to death in a city than bury himself alive amid the drab poverty and boredom of a village environment And who can blame him? His education, if at all it has helped him to think for himself, has encouraged him to admire the achievements of London and New York, rather than to realize the possibilities of rebuilding, on the ancient foundations of village citizenship, his own ancestral culture, now struggling for breath, though not dead His family, themselves probably in many cases village folk, have wellnigh ruined themselves to give him education Their Master of Arts, of Law, or of Science, returns to them (for as brief a visit as possible) not merely unemployed but with no idea of what he wants to do with his life or how he is to live No wonder there is discontent

To deal with the roots of this problem it is clear that, first, the soil must be more thoroughly prepared in the primary stage and the seeds of a different outlook on life must be sown in the middle stage through the introduction of an attractive and practical General Knowledge and Citizenship course in the hands of trained teachers At the end of that course there must then be facilities for elementary vocational training of as many kinds as possible The most promising seem to be in the minor trades such as tailoring, joinery, leather-work, in the smaller towns, plumbing, electrical and motor repairing, and in the rural areas,

fruit- and dairy-farming, bee-keeping, poultry-farming, and market gardening. The object is to divert as many boys as possible to such lines of productive work, so that only those who can really benefit from a higher stage of academic education should proceed to the high schools. The Sapru Committee recommends, too, that the high school course itself should branch out in at least three directions (not necessarily all in the same institution)—agricultural, commercial, and for University entrance—so that at the end of this stage again there may be diversion of the stream into channels of productive work, only one of the channels leading to still higher academic education and to the professions and administrative services. Only along some such lines, it would seem, can the problem slowly be solved.

Another aspect of the same problem is visible in the growing demand on the part of the middle-class government officials, land owners, and merchants for a type of school corresponding roughly to the smaller public schools and better grammar schools of England—the schools which till recently have produced most of the leaders and administrators of the public services, wholesale trade, and big industry of the nation. Until a few years ago there existed in India practically no school even remotely resembling a ‘school of leadership,’ except perhaps the expensive Chiefs’ Colleges which were exclusively for the sons of the Ruling Princes and the higher aristocracy, and the hill-station residential schools of the missionaries, which were mainly for boys of British and American parentage. Between these and the ordinary high schools (which are all day-schools with, occasionally, a more or less makeshift hostel attached to them) there was absolutely nothing. The few who had ambitions for their sons, along with money to spend on their education, sent them to England, the rest had to be content with the local high school.

During the last few decades isolated efforts have been made in different parts of the country to meet this growing demand for good residential schools. In this Dr Annie Besant and some of her colleagues of the Theosophical Society did valuable pioneer work, as also did Dr Rabindranath Tagore. From the boys’ school which Dr Besant founded, in Benares, the Hindu University has grown, but the original plant also still flourishes there and has branched forth into a girls’ school on similar lines, while in other parts of India schools of the same type have sprung up under many other auspices, public as well as private. Such are the residential schools at Madanapalle, at Adyar, at Rishi Valley, at Delhi, at Udaipur, and in many of the more salubrious spots, such as Poona, Nasik, Bangalore, and the hill-stations, residential schools of the preparatory type have been established either by particular communities for their own children or by public bodies.

A similar move in the same direction, from another angle, was the step taken by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, when in 1933 it converted a school for the sons of local Sardars (nobles) into the Scindia School, a residential school for Indian boys, run on more or less public school lines.

The force of the demand for this type of education is perhaps evidenced best of all, however, in its most recent and most prominent manifestation, the opening of the Indian Public School (now called the Doon School) at Dehra Dun in the United Provinces, under practically Government of India auspices. This institution had been projected years ago by the late Mr S R Das (then Law Member of the Government of India), and collected and promised funds were waiting to be used for it. Public demand was not, however, at that time powerful enough to operate as a catalyst as it has now done. The Doon School is staffed largely by English public school men and run on English lines. There is no doubt it fills an immediate need (as is shown by the rush for admission), and that need will continue to be felt for some years to come, but it is not unreasonable to speculate whether this type of school will meet the needs of the next generation. Provincialization will proceed far more vigorously and rapidly under the Federal Constitution, and the demand will undoubtedly soon be for provincial rather than central 'schools of leadership,' not merely on account of geographical distance, but more on grounds of language and culture. Even then there will be room for one or more central institutions, but only, it seems to me, if they show themselves willing to conform to Indian requirements and do not cling too rigidly to English manners, customs, and possibly even language. It may be argued that if a school adapts itself to that extent it will no longer be worthy of the name of public school in the traditional sense of the word. That depends. If the public school tradition is really capable and suitable of transplantation and acclimatization in India, I believe that by that time it will have sufficiently embedded its really vital roots in our soil, and we should be glad rather than sorry if the fruits are different in colour and flavour from those which the tree bears in its original clime. The main thing is that they should be identical in their essential characteristic, their nutritive value for a virile breed of young men, to make them liberal in outlook, enterprising and courageous in mind and heart, keen and capable inheritors of a great responsibility and a great opportunity, the future leadership of the world's latest and greatest political experiment, the government of a federal democratic dominion, which shall unite the cultures and traditions of the ancient East and the modern West.

## CHANGING SIAM

By SIR ROBERT HOLLAND, K C I E, C S I, C V O

FROM north to south Siam is about 1,130 miles and from east to west about 508 miles, the area being about 220,000 square miles. The great Mekong River runs for a thousand miles along the northern and eastern boundaries, roughly speaking, though certain territories on the right bank were ceded to the French more than thirty years ago. The western flank of the upper part of Siam is formed by a range of mountains which continues southward to form the backbone of the Malay Peninsula.

The north part of Siam is a series of parallel ranges of hills lying north and south, between which flow four rivers which unite in the centre of the country to form the main waterway, which is known as the Menam Chao Phya. The eastern part of Siam is a low lying plateau, unhealthy and sparsely inhabited, because it is subject to heavy floods in the monsoon and is very arid in the hot weather. Central Siam is the heart of the kingdom, and is the most thickly populated and wealthy area. It is a great plain bordered by high mountains on the west and sloping gently to the sea on the south. In the flood season the Menam and other rivers overflow their banks and deposit a great deal of silt over the country, perpetually renewing the fertility of the fields, and thus is maintained the high reputation which Siamese rice has gained in the markets of the world.

Southern Siam, the part in the Malay Peninsula, is generally speaking a narrow, mountainous strip, of which a good deal is covered with dense forest, though there are small alluvial plains between the lower slopes. The coast on both sides of the Peninsula is studded with islands.

The Siamese have long called their country Muang Thai, or "the country of the Thai race," Thai meaning "free." The origin of the Thai race is very obscure, but there seems to have been a movement of the Thai peoples from south-west China at least two thousand years ago, and there were probably later waves of invasion from the same source, notably one about the middle of the thirteenth century, under pressure from Kublai Khan.

The Thai peoples absorbed a good deal of their remarkable culture from the Khmers, a mysterious race whose ancestors probably came from the plateaus of Central Asia. The Khmers built up a large empire, with its capital at Angkor, and kept the Thais in subjugation for centuries, building all over Cambodia

and Siam, and farther afield still, the magnificent Hindu and Buddhist temples whose ruins are still visible today. Eventually, however, they were overcome, and perhaps largely exterminated or driven southwards, by the Thais, who by the end of the thirteenth century had extended their dominion over most of the country to the west of the Mekong River.

But it was not till the middle of the fourteenth century, so far as we know, that the various Thai principalities were consolidated into a kingdom with its capital at Ayuthia on the Menam River. Four hundred years later, Ayuthia was stormed and destroyed by the Burmese, and in the sack of the city there undoubtedly perished most of the ancient historical records of the kingdom. Some few survived, however, being carried to the new capital which was established at Bangkok, where the present dynasty of Rulers, called the Chakri dynasty, was founded by a successful general.

The Portuguese were the first of the Western nations to establish intercourse with Siam. They arrived in 1511, after the conquest of Malacca by D'Albuquerque, and they exerted a powerful influence for over a century until they were gradually ousted by the Dutch. English traders arrived and were favourably received early in the seventeenth century, but it was not until 1824 that, after the conclusion of a treaty with the Dutch, British interests became paramount in the Malay Peninsula and Siam. The first treaty of friendship and commerce between Britain and Siam was signed by Captain Burney in 1826. Intercourse between France and Siam began in 1680, when a Siamese embassy was sent to Louis XIV, at the suggestion of a Greek adventurer named Phaulkon, who had raised himself by sheer talent to a position of great power at the Court of Siam, but eventually suffered a painful death on being suspected of forwarding French intrigues. The ruins of his splendid house are still visible at the old capital of Lopburi.

Japanese commerce was active in Siam from 1592 to about 1632, when many Japanese settlers were murdered or expelled.

Through the medium of Siam's early relationships with foreign nations, fascinating sidelights can be obtained on the history of the country before the beginning of the nineteenth century. A book recently published under the title of *Siamese White* is well worth reading, since it gives a remarkable account of the career of an Englishman who became *de facto* Governor of the Tenasserim Province of Siam under Phaulkon, and eventually, by his filibustering propensities, embroiled the Siamese Government with the East India Company. Most of the Englishmen in the Tenasserim port of Mergui were massacred by the Siamese in 1687, largely in consequence of White's overbearing and ruthless

behaviour, but White himself escaped to England with a good deal of loot.

Trade between British possessions and Siam grew rapidly during the nineteenth century, and in 1855 a treaty was made, signed by Sir John Bowring, under which Siam agreed to the appointment of a British Consul in Bangkok, and to the exercise by him of full extra territorial powers. Similar treaties were soon made with the other Powers whose subjects were represented in Siam, with the result that foreigners in Siam, with the exception of Chinese, who have never been represented by a Consul, could only be tried for criminal offences or sued in civil cases in their own consular courts.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the French complained that the Siamese were occupying territory which belonged to Annam, a part of French Indo-China. The dispute at one time seemed likely to have very serious results for Siam, but eventually the Siamese Government gave way and made various territorial and other concessions, and an Anglo-French convention was concluded in 1896, by which the central portion of Siam was neutralized, and in effect the independence of Siam was guaranteed by the two great Powers.

Further treaties were made with France in 1904 and 1907, by which the frontier between Siam and French Indo-China was finally settled and the extra territorial rights enjoyed by France in Siam were to some extent modified.

By a treaty made with Great Britain in 1909, Siam ceded her suzerain rights over various Malay States situated in Southern Siam just north of British Malaya, containing in all about a million inhabitants, but obtained large concessions in the direction of the abolition of extra-territorial rights in respect of British subjects.

By treaties made after the Great War, mostly in 1925, the Powers agreed individually to their nationals being subject to the jurisdiction of Siamese State Courts, though certain jurisdictional limitations were to remain in effect until the publication of the Siamese codes of law, and for five years thereafter. In the case of Great Britain, for instance, there was an understanding that Siam would continue to employ a staff of British legal advisers, with a British judicial adviser at their head, who would sit in the special courts in which the cases concerning British subjects were heard, and also in the Appeal Court and the Supreme Court, during the interim period before all foreigners residing in Siam became subject to Siamese law administered in Siamese courts by Siamese judges.

Anyone who intends to visit Siam may be interested to have this slender foundation of knowledge before entering the country.

The best way to go to Siam is by sea via Penang, unless you travel by air. Crossing to the mainland from the island of Penang,

you enter a comfortable international express train which takes you to Bangkok in twenty seven hours. You pass at first through interminable rubber plantations, and paddy fields amid cocoanut palms, and dense jungle, with here and there the tidy villages of British Malaya. On entering Siamese territory, the scenery changes gradually and the line runs through endless cultivated plains and meadowlands, studded with groves of trees and villages and isolated limestone peaks that rise abruptly like forts from the plains. These are often honeycombed with caves which have gained a sacred reputation. Then comes a region of dense jungle and mountains, until the line returns to the seacoast and you get glimpses of sandy beaches and the blue waters of the Gulf of Siam. Inland are limestone cliffs which fringe the mountain barrier between Siam and Burma down the northern part of the Peninsula. At daybreak the international express reaches a little seaside station called Huahin, where the King has a fine palace, and there is also a charming hotel close to the sands with a good golf course close by.

If time permits, it is very advisable to stop off at Huahin and spend a few lazy days bathing in the warm sea, if the jelly fish permit. They are sometimes very numerous, and an exudation from them causes painful and long-continuing sores. Besides the golf, there are some pleasant and interesting excursions to be made from Huahin.

Before a visitor arrives at Bangkok it is desirable that he should have some idea of the political situation in the country.

After the capital was moved to Bangkok, Siam was ruled by a succession of extraordinarily capable and intelligent kings, of whom the best known was King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910). In his reign the Government of Siam was modernized, and a reasonably efficient system of administration was extended over the whole country. Railway construction was begun, telegraph services were organized, the army and navy were greatly improved, a proper police force was constituted, social and educational reforms were inaugurated, the finances of the country were placed on a sound basis, arts and sciences, and in particular drama, were stimulated, and in fact Siam began to follow the example of progress which Japan had set for Eastern nations by opening its doors to Western civilization.

But the Government of Siam continued to be an absolute, though benevolent, monarchy. The King had a Cabinet Council consisting of the ten Ministers of State and a nominated Legislative Council of forty five, but he was an autocrat in practice as well as in theory, he had an absolute power of veto, and the initiation of measures rested largely with him. When King Prajadhipok came to the throne in 1925, he made some moves in the direction of delegation



of powers and decentralization of work, and from royal announcements it is clear that he contemplated changes in the method of government which would enable his people to have a voice in matters affecting their interest and welfare

But there were serious obstacles to be surmounted, and before the King was able to promulgate a scheme which he was understood to have prepared for introducing constitutional government, the so-called "Bangkok Revolution" took place on June 24, 1932, and a democratic body seized the reins.

The leaders of the revolution at first behaved somewhat discourteously to the King and the Royal Family, but later on they apologized for this, when they realized the King's readiness to play his part as a constitutional monarch and his sympathy with democratic aspirations, and when they remembered all that the country owed to the statesmanship of the Chakri kings and to King Prajadhipok in particular. The Princes of the blood royal were deprived of the many high offices which they had held, new Ministers were appointed, members of the Royal Family were declared to be above politics, in the sense that they could not hold political posts, and a Constitution was framed on scientific lines, following the most liberal models. A few months later, however, the Cabinet, dominated by some older and more conservative members, brought about the suspension of certain clauses of the Constitution and the prorogation of the National Assembly, and sent a prominent leader of the democratic party to Europe in virtual exile. These moves caused marked discontent among the younger politicians in Bangkok, and also in certain army circles, and a *coup d'état* was accordingly prepared.

It happened to be so timed as almost to coincide with my own assumption of my duties as judicial adviser to the Siamese Government. On June 19, 1933, I paid my respects to the State Councillor in charge of the Ministry, who seemed to me to be a charming and cultured man, but rather depressed and distraught. I never saw him again, and his depression may have been due to the shadow of coming events, for the *coup* came off on the next day, June 20, and when I went to the Ministry in the morning I found a lorry full of soldiers and machine-guns at the entrance, and the State Councillor had been removed from office.

The change-over was accomplished without actual violence. One set of Ministers went out, overawed by bayonets and machine-guns, and another set with more advanced ideas assumed office under the Premiership of a distinguished military officer, Colonel Phya Bahol. The Constitution was reintegrated, the National Assembly was summoned to meet again, and the leader, Luang Pradit, who had been exiled to Paris, was recalled. We immediately settled down to hard work, as the Government had a long

list of reforms for every department of the administration which it was anxious to introduce as soon as possible. But a few months later there was a rude interruption when a rebellion broke out, led by Prince Bovaradej, who had a considerable number of supporters both in the army and navy. We foreigners in Bangkok were aware of a pitched battle proceeding on the outskirts of the city, but otherwise the even tenor of our daily lives went on as usual. The gunfire and the rattle of musketry gradually died away, as the rebels were pushed northwards, and after a week or two it was clear that the insurrection, which at one time had seemed likely to succeed, had definitely failed.

But on its collapse the Government found themselves confronted with some very difficult problems. The King, with his Court, had withdrawn southwards to Singhora, a town close to the British border, many officers in the army and navy and in the civil administration were known to have sympathized with the rebels, the gaols were full of prisoners of war and suspects, some of the most experienced members of the Cabinet had resigned on the plea of ill-health, and there was a general spirit of uncertainty abroad as to what the future might bring forth. If the King were hopelessly antagonized there might be a revulsion of popular feeling in his favour, because the sentiment of loyalty to the Ruling Family is deep rooted in Siam, if the prisoners were treated with ruthless severity, those responsible could expect no mercy, if a turn of fortune's wheel were to bring them into the same predicament later on, if the army and navy and the administrative departments were purged of all officers suspected of leanings to the Right, on the ground of their association with the old régime, the machinery of government would be seriously weakened and a new body of malcontents would be created, and finally the Assembly, which consisted of seventy-eight nominated and seventy-eight elected members, was not sufficiently representative of the people of Siam to confer any mandate on the State Executive.

The State Council dealt with these problems zealously but discreetly. They sent a delegation to the King, composed of the ablest Prince of Siam, who had thrown in his lot with the People's Party, by name Prince Varnvaidya, and the Minister of Justice, Phya Nitisastra, and these two, after long negotiations, succeeded in bringing about His Majesty's return to Bangkok and his resumption of the rôle of constitutional monarch, which he played with the same spirit as before. A few of the prisoners were sentenced to death and many to long terms of imprisonment, but the death sentences were not executed, either at the moment or later, and many suspects were released. Many officers in the armed forces and in the civil administration whose loyalty to the Constitution was doubted were replaced, but they were retired on

pension and not dismissed. Skilful propaganda was started in order to educate the people to a realization of the advantages of the new era, much needed reforms were pressed on, and the full ventilation of grievances was encouraged in the Assembly, while at the same time any movement which seemed likely to be subversive of the Constitution was rigorously suppressed. Copies of the Constitution were conveyed to the more important towns throughout the country with ceremony that partook of religious ritual, and every effort was made, especially by means of wireless talks, to kindle in the minds of the common people a real interest in democratic government and social reform. The movement had, of course, originated in Bangkok, though there were paler reflections in the larger up-country towns, but the country folk were politically apathetic, conceiving that the even tenor of their daily lives would be very little affected by changes in the personnel of the Central Government. Shortly after the second upheaval had taken place in Bangkok, a European who was travelling in Northern Siam was asked by a farmer to explain to him "what these people in Bangkok are quarrelling about, and why they seem to be getting so excited."

It is not easy to arouse enthusiasm for abstract political ideas in regions where communications are difficult and where the people are not under an oppressive yoke and can extract a sufficing, though slender, livelihood from the forests and the mud of the rice fields.

There is no doubt, however, that a political change was necessary for very substantial reasons.

Before the revolution took place the King, with clear-sighted statesmanship, had planned the creation of a Constitutional Government on the same lines as in Western countries, so that the people should by right have a voice in the administration and in matters of policy affecting the general welfare. He realized that the Princes of Blood had gathered to themselves more than their fair share of power and privilege and reward, and that the administration, already top-heavy, was in danger of collapse. His Majesty's good intentions were, however, thwarted by the natural disinclination of his relations to divest themselves of prerogative, and his hand was forced by leaders of the People's Party whose patience was exhausted.

Those leaders were highly intelligent men who had imbibed deeply of Western education, many of them having been actually trained at the expense of the State in Europe or America. They deemed themselves wholly competent to occupy the highest positions in State service, from which they must assuredly be excluded so long as the Departments were in the grip of bureaucratic Princes, and they were filled with burning desire to save the

country from decline by introducing long-needed reforms. The new wine was fermenting in old bottles, and it was inevitable that pent up feelings should find a release in order that greater danger might be avoided. There were already signs of the subtle workings of communism in the larger cities.

The requirements of the situation and the nature of the ills which existed may be gathered in some measure from the terms of the Constitution which the revolutionaries set up, and from the six "Principles" which they declared would govern their policy. These "Principles" were concerned with—

- 1 Equality of Rights
- 2 Liberty
- 3 National Independence
- 4 International Law and Order
- 5 Economic Progress
- 6 Education

The Government hold that equality of rights and liberty for the people are assured by the Constitution itself, with its fundamental declarations and the charter which it gives to the People's Assembly. The State Council have been hammering away at the remaining points during the past three years by administrative measures and by a spate of legislation.

I will not at the moment attempt to assess what measure of success they have achieved.

To resume the narrative, the King spent some months in his garden palace in Bangkok, and his presence, while affording invaluable support to the Government during the consolidation of their victory, undoubtedly restrained the hotheads of the People's Party from pressing for stern vengeance upon those captured in the insurrection. The King's visit to the capital at this critical time proved to the leaders of the movement, if they still entertained any doubt on the subject, that he was opposed to any attempt to reinstate the absolute Monarchy (a plan which Prince Boveradej is believed to have entertained), and the loyalty and veneration displayed during his public appearances probably convinced them that, for the time being at all events, the Sovereign was a necessary feature in the Constitution. The King's retirement to the proximity of the British frontier during the fighting was probably a wise step, since he would have been a pawn in the hands of any party that could have controlled his movements at the time, and he would have been compelled to descend into the arena of politics, thus perhaps imperilling the existence of the Monarchy.

But His Majesty's health was giving cause for anxiety, he had been warned that an operation for cataract would shortly have to be performed upon one of his eyes, and the whole affair of the

insurrection must have involved a severe strain at a time when he should have been conserving his strength

He probably realized that after his presence had produced the calming effect that was so urgently required, his position might become very difficult, since he would be a target for complaints, and discontented persons might try to focus their intrigues upon the throne. He could exercise very little direct influence upon the decisions of the State Council who had disregarded his offers of mediation, and he may have been impressed with the belief that he would be acting in the best interests of Siam and the Monarchy if he absented himself from the country for a time.

In any case, it would have been dangerous for him to have had the cataract operation performed in Bangkok, even if the presence of skilled specialists could have been secured, because he could not have obtained there the several months' rest and recuperation which the doctors had told him must be regarded as the necessary preliminary to the operation.

So he left for Europe in the spring of 1934, and a Council of Regency was appointed.

The Siamese possess a peculiar talent for the arrangement of colourful and dramatic ceremonial, and Their Majesties' departure from Bangkok by river was an unforgettable scene. The Diplomatic Corps and the Princes and nobles and the high officials, with the ladies of their families, all brilliantly arrayed, were gathered on a dais under a high roof of coloured tiles which was supported on slender pillars. The far end of this open hall was arranged like the chancel of a church, with an altar bearing many lighted candles and Buddhist symbols of worship, while down the side priests sat cross-legged, chanting perpetually in deep voices and waving their fans. Outside, in orderly blocks, were grouped the lesser folk, under marquees or on chairs in the open, one block on the right of the landing-stage being reserved for the members of the Assembly, who made a somewhat drab patch in their work-a-day clothes. Guards of honour lined the path to the landing-stage, and troops with their bands filled the background.

At last Their Majesties appeared, the King in full uniform with decorations, leading the Queen by the hand. After passing down the hall, and after performing the customary ritual and presenting gifts to the priests, they knelt for a time on cushions before the altar, and then, after taking farewell of close friends, they walked slowly to the landing-stage under the shade of the royal umbrella and followed by their staff. After Their Majesties had entered their speedy motor-yacht, it proceeded a short way up-stream, and then turning flashed past the crowd, by this time assembled on the bank, at full speed on its way to the ocean steamer.

anchored down river. So King Prajadhipok bade farewell, and in all probability a final farewell, to his capital of Bangkok.

A year later the King, while residing in England, signed his formal act of abdication. For reasons which seemed to him to be of the greatest importance, he had refused to sign the death warrant of those condemned after the insurrection, he had protested against the policy followed by the Government on the ground that it failed to give political freedom to the people, he had strongly objected to the provisions in the Constitution whereby half the members of the National Assembly were to be nominated by the Government—i.e., by the party in power, and he forcibly condemned the procedure followed in political trials, and participation in politics by officers of the army and navy in active service.

The Government, in disregard of the royal veto, passed an Act to make unnecessary the King's assent to executions, and they showed no disposition to accede to the King's wishes in other matters, doubtless because they were convinced that their only hope of maintaining order and retaining power in their own hands lay in exercising the closest control, not merely over the machinery of government, but also over the deliberations of the Assembly, through the obedient bloc of nominated members.

Part of the army and navy still wanted their King back, and the masses of the people, if they could have had a free vote, would probably have given it in his favour, but the Government could not trim their sails without danger of foundering, and they held on their course. They sent a mission to Europe to negotiate with His Majesty, but there was never any real possibility of compromise.

After the King had failed to receive the definite answers which he considered were required by his definite demands, he despatched his abdication on March 2, 1935, accompanied by a public statement to his people, in which he said that in his view—

the Government and its party have employed methods of administration incompatible with the personal liberty of the subject and the principles of equity according to my conception and belief. I am unable to agree that any party should carry on administration in this way under cover of my name.

He accordingly renounced all the rights which he had as King, and abandoned also his right, under the Succession Act, to nominate his successor. The abdication was accepted, and Prince Ananda Mahidol, the first in the line of succession, was invited to take the throne by the State Council with the approval of the Assembly.

In the meantime life in Bangkok had jogged on much as usual.

The machinery of administration functioned with reasonable efficiency, the people observed their usual feasts and holidays, the life of the countryside flowed in its usual peaceful channels, foreigners in Bangkok pursued their avocations undisturbed and held their customary social functions, but there were at first many complaints of a slackening of trade on account of doubt as to the stability of the new régime

An attempt, fortunately unsuccessful, on the life of the Minister of Defence, Luang Bipul Songgram, and an abortive conspiracy which had for its object the assassination of members of the Government and prominent officials, darkened the horizon for a time, but by the spring of 1936, after the remodelling of the State Council, again under the Premiership of Colonel Phya Bahol, the atmosphere seemed to have cleared and public confidence was in process of being restored

Two things in Siam are of particular interest to the student of politics

The first is the slow but steady penetration of the country by the Chinese. The Western movement of population from China which, through a long period of years, has set like a tidal current on the coast of Malaya, and which finally expends itself in the backwaters of Siam, is comparable in effect with the more spectacular migrations of the Thais from Southern China which began 2,000 years ago. Already there have been results of great importance from the ethnological, commercial, and sociological points of view, but these cannot be described within the limits of a short article

The second point is the effect produced upon Siam's relations with foreign powers by the nationalistic developments of the past few years

The Siamese have always acknowledged with courteous gratitude the advantages that they have reaped from the assistance and tutelage of Western Powers. At the same time, they have been well aware that the benevolence of foreign nations could not be wholly untinged with self interest, while the entertainment of foreign advisers proved sometimes an expensive method of acquiring experience. One of the foremost ambitions of the new State Council has naturally been to free Siam from any semblance of domination by foreign interests. A Government which can demonstrate to the people that its régime has improved the country's status among the nations is likely to reap a harvest of enthusiastic support, and thus incidentally to ensure its own continuity. This it must naturally believe to be of the highest importance to the salvation of the country

Again, there may be commercial profit or other aggrandisement to be gained by diplomatic adventure in paths which were not

frequented by those who were formerly responsible for Siam's foreign policy

It was not to be expected that Siam's foreign relationships would remain, after the *coup d'état*, upon precisely the same footing as they were before. But whatever new friendships may be cultivated and whatever new obligations may be undertaken, it may be regarded as certain that the leaders of the People's Party which is now controlling the destinies of the country will never desire, by any action of theirs, to loosen the ties which have united Siam and Great Britain in interest and affection for so many years past

I once heard a Siamese gentleman say "Of course English is our second language,' and by many Siamese England is undoubtedly regarded as their second home, while in matters of international moment there is a solidarity of thought and a community of interest which make for harmony of action. English people who live for any considerable period of time in Siam find themselves greatly attracted by the unique charm of the country and entertain a very real and lasting affection for the many friends they make there

The Englishman feels more quickly at home in Siam than in any other Eastern country, because he soon realizes that in the present-day representative of the Thai race, of both sexes, he will find true comrades who will share all his amusements and interests, whether in sport or in the serious affairs of life, and will gain his respect and affection by their dignity and amiable courtesy, and by the many remarkable talents which they possess

December 10, 1936.



## THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

BY DAVID G. MANDELBAUM

(Fellow of the National Research Council of the U.S.A.)

THERE was Emeneau waiting for me at the Hyderabad station. We had made the appointment half a year before that morning in January last, made it by correspondence when first I knew that I was coming out to India. We had known each other only casually at Yale, for two storeys of the Hall of Graduate studies and considerable academic distance intervened between his department of Indo-European linguistics and mine of social anthropology. But now Yale had sent both of us out to conduct research in India. Emeneau had come the year before and was making considerable progress with Toda, Coorg, and other Dravidian languages. I was fresh off the boat when we met, having arrived just in time to attend the meetings of the India Science Congress.

Hyderabad's Osmania University was host to the Science Congress, and Osmania's Professor Speight had graciously extended his hospitality to the two lone Americans.

At the Town Hall, where the Congress was to take place we saw a cluster of men at the entrance bowing and smiling and executing 'but you first' gestures before each other. But soon they went in and we tagged along directly behind them. We hadn't gone ten paces before we found ourselves between two files of soldiery, drawn starchily to attention. For it was no collocation of lay mortals that we had followed, but the formal academic procession itself. So we came into the Science Congress in great style and were the cynosure of all eyes.

The Congress was opened by the representative of the Government, Sir Akbar Hydari, under whose ægis both education and finance have flourished in the Nizam's State. There was some little delay while microphones were being adjusted, and Sir Akbar took advantage of the time to step from the platform and greet friends whom he had noticed in the audience. Even in the United States a stiffness of manner adheres to large scientific meetings, and it was striking and pleasing to see the honoured guest of the occasion dispensing with formality.

Then came the presidential address by Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkatraman. The president exemplified the working union of the practical and scholastic spheres in India, for Mr. Venkatraman is eminently a man of practical affairs, being a sugar-cane expert. His address, "The Indian Village," displayed an erudition worthy

of the presidential chair. The theme of his speech was a vitally important one. The prevailing urbanization of Western countries has turned attention away from village life. In India it is the village that contains the great majority of the population and represents the beating heart of India itself. Research in all fields—agricultural, physical, industrial, sociological—must turn more and more to the problems of the villager.

We had our first look at the Osmania University later that afternoon. The present buildings lie long and low and white along the campus. We soon discovered that they are only temporary structures and that the truly fine Indo-Saracenic buildings going up nearby presage the Osmania of five years hence. The hostels are nearly completed. So lavishly designed are they that one visiting professor questioned the wisdom of building them. For a student who spends several years in those palatial residences will find it hard to become reconciled to the narrower dimensions of his own home.

Osmania is distinctive among Indian Universities in that Urdu is the official language of instruction, English being a required secondary language. It is no easy task to secure textbooks and competent instruction in the language of the country. Moreover Urdu, or its close relative Hindustani, is not known to most South Indians. Even in Hyderabad itself a good proportion of the population speaks a Dravidian tongue, Telugu, and not Indo-European Urdu. Yet the wisdom of placing the academic world on the same linguistic plane with masses of the people cannot be questioned. Only in such wise can the benefits of modern scholarship permeate the social fabric of the country.

We had intended to join a tour of the buildings under the guidance of the University engineer, but the scent of a library had reached Emeneau's nostrils. He had been isolated from books and scholarly periodicals too long to have an interest in mere architecture. Although it was a scant month since I had been in the company of scientific literature, I, too, couldn't resist, and spent the rest of the afternoon with the *American Journal of Sociology*. In the evening there was a popular lecture on Nepal.

On the next day the Congress got down to business and the first papers were read. The days which followed all adhered to the same pattern. Scientific meetings in the mornings, excursions and "at homes" in the afternoons, popular lectures in the evenings.

Anthropology is a science relatively new to India, and Indian anthropologists are all too few. There were never over a dozen attending the ordinary sessions of the anthropological section and often there were but half that number, and these few had to cope with the myriad problems latent in the cultures of India's twenty-five million aborigines. They were the men whose works I had

read and whose special field of anthropological endeavour I was about to enter

Illness prevented the president of our section, Dewan Bahadur L K A Iyer, from attending the ordinary sessions, and Dr B S Guha, of the Calcutta Museum, officiated in his stead Harvard trained, Dr Guha is the foremost physical anthropologist in India His skilful treatment of the Gargantuan problem of physical types in the population of India, recently published in the 1931 census, has aroused the interest of physical anthropology the world over I may parenthetically remark that anthropology is subdivided into four disciplines, and most anthropologists specialize in one or other of the four Physical anthropology has to do with the problems of race, growth, bodily types, and other matters connected with the physical structure of mankind Ethnology studies the habits and customs of the various social groups, limiting itself largely to the lives of primitive peoples Closely allied to ethnology is archæology, the study of ages past as revealed by buried evidence Finally, there are linguistics, a knotty subject with rules and a technical jargon of its own

Mr T C Roy Chaudhuri of Calcutta aided Dr Guha in carrying the banner of physical anthropology His paper on the Radhiya Brahmin community of Bengal indicated that the group is a physical as well as a social unit The interests of Lucknow University's young Dr D N Majumdar were closest to my own His alert ethnological perspicacity has been quick to see the advantages of Benedict's new theories I heard him discuss cultural patterns and configurations in terms scarcely grasped by American anthropologists among whom these ideas had been evolved Briefly stated, Benedict's position is that every civilization chooses a certain preferred arc of behaviour from among the vast array of human social patterns The personalities of members of any social group are moulded to fit within this arc Those individuals whose personalities are congenitally congenial to that cultural configuration rise to high position Thus the Zuni tribe of New Mexico places a premium on quiet, orderly, middle-of-the-road behaviour Those individuals who are impulsive, aggressive, non-conformist, have their impulses and aggressions and rebelliousness squashed Zunis who are complacent, balanced, self-contained, are models of manly carriage Dr Majumdar's forthcoming book on the Hos of the Chota Nagpur region will, for the first time, apply this concept to a tribe of India

Mr M H Krishna is State archæologist for Mysore, but his two papers dealt with subjects of an ethnological nature. The rise and growth of caste is by no means clear to the social scientist, and the very functioning of the caste system is but hazily understood by the anthropologists and sociologists of the Western

world Mr Krishna showed that castes are not static social entities, for there are many instances of the rise or fall of a caste in the social scale. The history of some of the royal dynasties of the Deccan bears this out. The Satavahanas were Brahmmins who intermarried with the Sakas of Surastara. The Kadambas were Brahmmins who became Kshtryias. The Vardhana dynasty of Kanuj were Vaisyas who became Kshtryias. The other paper read by Mr Krishna illuminated yet another influence in the formation of castes, the geographical factor. The lack of means of communication has often divided a single caste into several sub-castes. Many of the endogamous sub-castes of Mysore were originally parts of a larger caste which became separated from each other geographically and so came to be separately crystallized socially.

My friend Dr Emeneau had not confined himself to the languages of the tribes he encountered, but made observations on their customs as well. Among other papers which were of special interest to me was one by Mr L. A. Krishnan of Trivandrum. Pygmy people have a wide distribution, being found in scattered and wild localities from Central Africa to the Philippines. It seems that this Negrito strain crops up in South India also, for some individuals in the hill tribes exhibit the frizzly hair, short stature, negroid features that are characteristic of the Negrito stock.

The Khasis of Assam have been studied by Mr David Roy. These people still erect megalithic structures, as did the ancient inhabitants of Britain. Now many theories have been spun about the use of the huge stone monuments whose builders have long been forgotten. But all are sheer armchair hypotheses. Testimony as to the function of these monuments among contemporary primitives gives us an insight into the motives for raising the megaliths in the past. The Khasis erect the stones to mark the place where a deceased's bones are interred. Stone represents strength and permanence in the mind of the tribe. Hence the permanence of the living spirit in the afterworld is represented by stone structures. They form the material symbol of the connection between the living and the dead.

The final anthropological session was devoted to the address of the sectional president Mr L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, doyen of Indian anthropologists. He had been confined to his bed throughout the week of the meetings. But the same tenacity of spirit which had carried him through many ethnological studies brought him from his sick-bed to deliver the address in person. Long before scientific anthropology had been established in India he had carried on ethnological studies. Now, over seventy years of age, he is still actively enquiring into the manners of mankind.

His subject was the ethnography of the Coorgs, a people who have lived in the isolation of the Western Ghats from times beyond the reach of memory or written tradition. They are a hunting people, of a happy yet warlike disposition. Even now they are a proud people who keep to themselves and hold Brahmins and other castes at arm's length. Orthodox Hinduism has made but little impress on their custom.

The grand finale of the Congress was the annual banquet, served in munificent style by the Nizam's catering service. The difficulties which confront the managers of a Science Congress in India became apparent when I saw the guests seated according to the particular cuisine they followed. One long table was served with South Indian food, a second with North Indian dishes, the third with European fare. Banquet dress was diversified. The thin line of black-and-white was dotted with red fezes, lavish long coats, open shirts, Bengali scarves, as well as by any-hued *saris*.

I came away from Hyderabad richer for having met those in the van of Indian anthropology, and made acquaintance with the current problems in the field. I still wonder at Osmania, a well equipped and even sumptuous University rising in a country where the percentage of literacy is still pitifully low, whose faculty includes men of high calibre, one of whom is a savant of Japanese art, another a disciple of Einstein, whose dramatic association produces in Urdu Shaw and Shakespeare.

A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN INDIA A HUNDRED  
YEARS AGO  
HIS VISIT TO RANJIT SINGH

BY PHILIP MORRELL

IN the spring of 1831—nearly two years after his arrival in India—Victor Jacquemont set out upon his visit to the Punjab as the guest of Ranjit Singh, an expedition which was probably the most interesting part of his whole journey \* Certainly it was the most picturesque Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, was the last of the great independent Princes who had threatened the dominion and sometimes even the existence of the East India Company

Already in less than twenty years three of the greatest powers had fallen or given way before it. On May 4, 1799, by the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tipoo Sultan, the half-civilized kingdom of Mysore had been destroyed, apparently for ever, though it was to be revived, as if by a miracle, eighty two years later in the modern progressive State. In the following year the Nizam of Hyderabad was compelled to submit to the protection of the Company, and the independence of his State was for a time almost extinguished. Eighteen years later, after a long series of wars, the Peshwa Baji Rao, the chief of the Marathas, the most formidable of the Indian Confederacies, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, and the Maratha power was brought to an end. After this the Company's power, however insecurely established, extended in unbroken succession to the mouth of the Indus. But Ranjit Singh still remained unconquered, the ruler of the great district in the north west through which from time immemorial the conquerors of India had come.

He was now in his fifty-first year, and, though prematurely aged and partly paralyzed by the excesses of his youth, was still at the height of his power. His rise had been swift and extraordinary. In 1792, when he was only twelve years old, his father died, and Ranjit became the nominal chief of one of the smaller branches of Confederacy of the Sikhs, one of the great fighting races of the country. Ten years later, before he was twenty-one, he had become possessed, whether by fraud or force, or some mixture of the two, of the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, the two principal cities of the Punjab, and the acknowledged head of the whole Sikh

\* *Letters from India, 1829-32, of Victor Jacquemont*. Translated by Catherine Alison Phillips (Macmillan.) 21s net.

**Confederacy** For a little while it had seemed likely that, following the example of other Indian Princes, he would sacrifice the independence of his kingdom in a hopeless conflict with the Company. But in the end prudence had prevailed. By the treaty of Amritsar, which he had been induced by the young Charles Metcalfe to sign in 1809, and which he observed faithfully until his death thirty years later, Ranjit Singh had entered into a bond of perpetual amity with the Company and had thus maintained his independence. From that time onwards he devoted himself to the consolidation of his power. The golden Temple at Amritsar which he restored and beautified and the Burning Palace at Lahore still remain in proof of his magnificence. But he himself was always a mysterious figure, it was seldom that any Europeans, except the few employed in his service, were allowed to enter his territory.

#### JACQUEMONT'S ARRIVAL

Jacquemont arrived with the best possible credentials. A Frenchman named Jean François Allard, who had previously served under Napoleon, but for the last ten years had been employed in the training of Ranjit's army, had written to offer him hospitality and protection, and with this invitation and a letter of recommendation from Lord William Bentinck he was sure of a favourable reception. In fact, it was even better than he had anticipated. He had been represented to Ranjit Singh as a man of extraordinary learning, the Plato of the modern world, and for learning Ranjit Singh, who could neither read nor write, had a profound respect. On March 2, 1831, the sage crossed the Sutlej—the river that was now the frontier between British India and the Punjab—riding on an elephant and accompanied by a troop of Sikhs, and on the right bank of the river was received with military honours by a squadron of cavalry and escorted to his tent. There his 'guardian', Fakir Shah ud Din, accompanied by a number of officers, met him.

He used, he writes, the most imploring forms of speech as he placed a gross bag of money in my hands, while part of his theatrical chorus was filing past my tent each depositing a great basket of fruit or a pot of cream or preserves at my door."

From Captain Wade, his English host, he had received a lesson in Sikh etiquette, and found that it was necessary to refer to himself not as "we," but in the third person as the *Sahib* or Lord. So his conversation ran like this:

The *Sahib* (that is, the lord) is not tired. The lord is charmed to see your lordship. Express the lord's respects to the King. The lord invites your lordship to mount upon the lord's elephant, etc.

There were more "seigneurs," he said, in a quarter of an hour of his conversation than in all the tragedies of Racine. Next day and the day after there were similar presents. If Ranjit Singh felt obliged to treat all his guests like that, it was easy to understand that he was not anxious to receive visitors. A march of six days brought Jacquemont to Lahore, where he was met outside the city by Allard and the other French officers.

We all leapt to the ground and I gave M. Allard a hearty embrace (*une rude accolade*), or a great hug, as Mrs. Phillips rather crudely translates it.

He was conducted to the gate of a delicious oasis in which he was to be lodged—a little palace furnished with extreme elegance and set in the midst of a beautiful garden in which a multitude of fountains were playing, like a magic palace in the Arabian Nights. There he found fresh presents from the King of the choicest fruits awaiting him and a bag of five hundred rupees.

#### HIS FIRST AUDIENCE

Next day he was admitted into the royal presence. The interview, which lasted two hours, was interesting but difficult.

His conversation, he wrote, is a nightmare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have seen, but his curiosity makes up for the apathy of his whole nation. He asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the English, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the other one, hell and paradise, the soul, God, the devil, and a thousand things besides. Like all persons of quality in the East, he is a *malade imaginaire* and is particularly annoyed at not being able to drink like a fish without getting drunk or eat like an elephant without choking. Women no longer give him any more pleasure than the flowers in his garden, and for good reasons, and that is the most cruel of his ills.

He was also, like most other despots, extremely suspicious. He was even suspicious—after ten years of experience of their devotion—of the four "Frenchmen," two of whom, however, were Italians, who were at the head of his armies, and at first was still more suspicious of his new guest, of whom he had heard that he was an English spy. But at the end of the first audience he exclaimed that Jacquemont was certainly not English.

An Englishman, he said, would not have changed his position twenty times or used so many gestures in speaking, he would not have spoken in such a variety of tones, now high, now low, he would not have laughed when occasion arose, etc.

After this they had many conversations together, and soon became almost intimate friends. On the whole Jacquemont was, as he said, extremely pleased with him, all the more so because he heard that when he was not at Court Ranjit Singh spoke of him with the highest praise.



### THE KING'S CHARACTER

Of his public character Jacquemont wrote

This model Asiatic king is no saint far from it He cares nothing for law or good faith, unless it is to his interest to be just or faithful but he is not cruel He orders very great criminals to have their noses and ears cut off or a hand but he never takes life He has a passion for horses which amounts almost to a mania, he has waged the most costly and bloody wars for the purpose of seizing a horse in some neighbouring State which they had refused to give or sell him He is extremely brave, a quality rather rare among Eastern princes and though he has always been successful in his military campaigns, it has been by treaties and cunning negotiations that he has made himself absolute king of the whole Punjab Kashmir etc, and is better obeyed by his subjects than the Mogul emperors were at the height of their power

About his private life Jacquemont was less complimentary

He is a shameless rogue, he said who flaunts his vices with as little embarrassment as Henri III used to do in our country It is true that between the Indus and the Sutlej this is hardly looked upon as even a peccadillo But what gives shocking offence to the public morality of these good people is that, not content with the women of his own seraglio, the King frequently indulges his fancy for those of other men's and what is worse, for public women too

His cunning and duplicity were notorious

Ranjit Sing is an old fox, Jacquemont had written on February 25, just before he went to visit him compared with whom the wildest of our diplomatists is a mere innocent

Five months later, after getting to know him, he confirms, almost in the same words, the opinion he had formed

There is nothing straightforward or simple about the people of this country They resort to craft in everything It is idiocy for a European to play the same game with them, we are always sure to be overreached The sublimest of all rogues among us is, I am convinced, a mere innocent compared with Ranjit Sing

But of his kindness to Jacquemont there could be no question From the moment of his arrival and throughout his stay he treated him with the highest possible distinction and showered gifts upon him

### A VISIT TO KASHMIR

Best of all was the permission which the King gave him to go to Kashmir, which no European had yet visited except in disguise He was to go to any part he liked, the King would have him guarded everywhere He would enjoy the same security as in the English possessions He decided to go there immediately

At a farewell audience which lasted two hours Ranjit Singh heaped more presents upon him, four great Kashmir shawls, two of which were valued at five thousand rupees, seven pieces of silk or muslin, and an ornament of the country "in badly cut precious stones" and a purse of eleven hundred rupees, which added to previous gifts of thirteen hundred rupees, amounted to more than a year's grant from the Jardin des Plantes, his employers in Paris. He also promised him an escort of horse and foot soldiers, with camels to carry his luggage to the foot of the mountains, and porters to do the same when the camels could go no further, and further purses to await him on his journey.

On March 25 he started from Lahore, and some six weeks later (on May 8), after various adventures and some dangers, arrived at Kashmir. There he found that orders had been given for his table to be supplied regularly at the King's expense. He found also a splendid state barge with thirty oarsmen at his service to take him on the lake and river, and a letter from the King bidding him to behave in Kashmir as though he were at home.

This country is yours wrote the King, so take up your quarters in whichever of my gardens you prefer. Command, and you will be obeyed.

After the wandering and laborious life he had led ever since he left Europe, it is not surprising that Jacquemont should have enjoyed his new dignity or should have felt grateful to the "fine fellow" who had treated him so generously.

### A RUTHLESS DESPOTISM

But much as he enjoyed the honours conferred on him and appreciated the King's generosity, Jacquemont was under no illusion as to the character of the Government. It was a cruel and ruthless despotism. At Koteli, on his way to Kashmir, he saw by the side of the road the corpse of a man who had been hanged, so it seemed, that very morning. He asked who it was and why he had been hanged, but no one could tell him, everyone was completely indifferent.

The life of a poor man, he reflects, how small a thing it is in the East. One has to have travelled in the Punjab to realize what an immense benefit the domination of the English in India is to humanity! What misery eighty million men are spared by it!

About a week later at Kohouta there were a dozen men hanging from the trees close to his camp on the river-bank.

While the Governor was calling upon me he wrote, he told me in a perfectly unconcerned tone that he had two hundred hanged during his first year of office, but that by this time it sufficed to hang one here and there to keep the country in order. observe that the country in question is a

wretched and almost deserted little region. For my part, if I had to govern it, I should start by placing the Governor and his three hundred soldiers in irons as the worst robbers of all.'

An incident that occurred in his own camp confirmed his view. One of the soldiers in his escort was accused of having stolen a shawl belonging to Jacquemont's secretary. Jacquemont went to the spot, and, having examined both the accuser and the accused, was easily convinced of the man's guilt. The officer in command then enquired whether it was his pleasure that the man should be hanged or have his nose and ears cut off. Jacquemont refused both these alternatives, but substituted a punishment which, though less cruel than death or mutilation, was nevertheless according to our notions abominably severe. He ordered that the man should receive a hundred strokes with a stick and be dismissed from the army with ignominy. But he went on to suggest to Gulab Singh, the Governor of the province, the establishment of prisons in his territory, and the substitution of forced labour for the cruel mutilations which were then so frequently inflicted by Oriental "justice." In fact, in these lands the very notion of justice hardly existed. Justice in one strong enough to be unjust was "a miracle," and therefore at first incomprehensible to their inhabitants, though they were not slow to understand and appreciate it. Through the whole Viceroyalty of Kashmir there was no sort of tribunal for settling private disputes, and people came to Jacquemont, even from a distance, to ask him to act as arbiter between them. They spoke of his "justice," and this gave him even more pleasure than their praise of his wisdom. As to his wisdom he had recently been promoted. Ranjit Singh now addressed him as 'Aristotle' over and above the former allowance of the titles of Plato and Socrates.

#### THE NEED OF EDUCATION

It was during his stay in Kashmir, on May 28, 1831, that Jacquemont wrote to his friend, Count Antoine de Tracy, "Peer of France," in Paris, one of the most interesting of all his Indian letters. After telling him of the wanderings and how he came to be in Kashmir, he sums up in a few sentences his impressions of Indian life, and of the benefits which the English Government had brought

In these vast regions the condition of humanity does not seem to be capable of any improvement or change so long as the religious ideas in them remain the same, and Hinduism seems immovable. How deplorable is the condition of mankind in this vast Orient! The English Government in India though it still calls for reforms deserves nevertheless high commendation. Its administration is an immense benefit to the provinces subject to it. I had not appreciated it at its full value till I travelled through this

country which has remained independent—remained, that is, the scene of atrocious acts of violence and continual brigandage and murder \*

Society in the East is vitiated, he says, from its very foundations. The upper classes, which set the example for the rest, practise a polygamy which makes fathers indifferent to their children and stirs up horrible jealousies and hatred between brothers. Woman, too, is regarded as an impure creature with deplorable results. And this state of things—"the domestic morality of India, which is its greatest source of misery"—seems to admit of no improvement so long as it retains its existing religious institutions.

But here gradually his tone brightens. May there not, after all, be a hope of change? "These religious institutions," he says, "are perhaps too generally believed to be immutable."

It was true that hitherto all direct attempts at conversion had completely failed. The Indians, though sounded everywhere, had nowhere been willing to exchange Mohammed or Brahma for Jesus Christ or the Trinity. But lately a new policy had been adopted.

For some years past the Government has wisely withdrawn its support from the missionaries (and courageously too for it takes some courage for the East India Company to provoke the stupid or hypocritical wrath of Parliament) and opened free schools in Calcutta, Benares and Delhi to which it attracts children of the middle class by every means of influence in its power, for the purpose of instructing them in the languages and science of Europe without ever telling them about our follies.

He had himself visited these schools, especially in Calcutta, and had talked with a number of the young men who had "quite naturally" been converted from Mohammed or Brahma to reason by this method. Many of them, he said, complained to him that the possession of this treasure only made them more wretched by cutting them off from their own people and giving them the desire for happiness under forms forbidden by their caste, and none of them had yet had the courage to cross that infernal barrier. And yet if there was any hope of ever civilizing the East it was by this means alone that it could be done. It was for the Government then to encourage the learning of English in every possible way. Let them substitute the use of it for that of Persian—introduced by the Mogul conquerors—in the courts of law and in all public transactions, for

Persian is of no use to those who know it except in the routine of their professions, whereas English would be a key to the whole of European knowledge.

\* In this and several other passages I have given my own translation of some of the words and phrases used by Jacquemont in preference to Mrs Phillips's version, but the difference in each case is one of phrasing only and does not affect the general sense.

He was sometimes asked, he said, what would become of the English rule in India when European enlightenment was widely enough disseminated to allow the Indians to govern themselves.

What does that matter to you? I would reply By that time you and your children will be long dead, and your English domination will have ceased to be of use to this land.

And with a fine confidence he concludes

There are plenty of narrow minds and hearts which are hostile to this generous project, but I have no doubt that within a very few years it will be adopted by the Government It will spread throughout this country the light of European civilization, and will enable it one day to govern itself

Written at a time when the right education to be provided in India was still an open question, Jacquemont's letter anticipates with remarkable precision the course which the controversy took. The narrow minds and hearts were not wanting, but the Government took, as this letter foresees, the larger and more generous view. In the year 1835, nearly four years after the date of this letter, and three years after Jacquemont's death, Macaulay, on February 2, published his well known minute in favour of making English the basis of Indian education, and a month later, on March 7, Lord William Bentinck declared that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." But nearly a hundred years were to pass before the self government to which they all looked forward was brought into being.

#### A FINAL AUDIENCE

In October, on his return to the Punjab, he had another audience of the King at Amritsar, and liked him even better than when he had seen him at Lahore six months earlier. That was no doubt, he said, because of the fuss Ranjit made of him. He offered him—"only guess"—the viceroyalty of Kashmir, but Jacquemont was convinced that the offer was a trap which the King laid to find out his ambitions, and laughed at the idea. At the festival of Desehra he sat near him in a magnificent tent and watched the army file past, 'like the armies described by the historians and poets of antiquity,' and a few days later rode side by side with him on an elephant, discoursing with him "like an oracle." At last, on the evening of October 21, he took his final leave of him. The interview was long and extremely friendly. Ranjit took Jacquemont's hands and pressed them several times, while Jacquemont turned upon him his richest broadsides of flattery. But an English officer who happened to be present was not so fortunate.

I was embarrassed to find from his neglect of the English officer in command of Wade's escort, who was calling upon him with me, that his attentions were all for me, but the English are so awkward with the Amatics and so unsociable, that I was not surprised. They have no reply to make but yes and no, and Ranjit likes to be amused.

It was pitch dark before Jacquemont parted from the King, "leaving him all my best wishes for fame and prosperity in this world and the next, if it exists"—and when he reached his tent he found a further present of five hundred rupees awaiting him.

#### HIS RETURN TO BRITISH TERRITORY

He was delighted, however, when he found himself again in British territory. On November 9 he crossed the Sutlej, "with a joy which I can hardly express." To his friend, Prosper Mérimée, in Paris he wrote:

In spite of the crescendo of Ranjit's attention I find it charming to be back among the perfidious islanders. After eight months of absolute solitude I find any gaiety good even that of the English. (November 28, 1831.)

But it soon became evident that this observation about English "gaiety" was no more than a stock joke to amuse his correspondent, for the letters that follow—as I shall show in a concluding article—are filled with praise of the Englishmen he met in those northern stations, and his pleasure in getting to know them.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

## GENERAL

ALL ABOUT TEA. By William H Ukers M.A. Two volumes (New York The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Co., 79, Wall Street.) 25 dollars per set

(Reviewed by H D RICE)

This encyclopedia, which must surely embody every known fact about tea in its 1100 pages is certainly a work of outstanding merit and will be welcomed by the tens of thousands of people engaged in the tea industry as a valuable work of reference. The reader will be amazed at the vast store of knowledge possessed by the author on his subject—which equals, if it does not surpass, his knowledge of coffee on which he has recently published a similar treatise. *All about Tea* is treated in such an attractive manner that there is something of interest in every chapter not only to the man or woman engaged in the tea trade but also to the ordinary student in search of new reading matter. The writer of the present review on Mr Ukers' book finds it difficult to do justice to a work of such merit, but he has endeavoured to extract a few items, of general interest, and must leave it to those anxious to learn more to study the book themselves.

It is generally known that there are only three important non-alcoholic beverages known to civilization—viz tea, coffee and cocoa. All three are true stimulants. Coffee is said to be more stimulating to the brain, cocoa to the kidneys whereas tea possesses a happy medium between the two, being mildly stimulating to most of our bodily functions.

The legendary origin of tea according to Chinese sources we are told, dates back to the year 2737 B.C. with the earliest reliable reference in 350 A.D. and many allusions, authentic and otherwise, during the years between. By the fifth century tea became an article of trade. A Dutch physician in 1648 and following years is credited with having done more to promote its general adoption in Europe than anyone else. This physician advised the use of eight to ten cups a day and found no reason to object to even fifty or more! In those days the present-day belief that it is unwise to take tea with a meal when meat is eaten, on account of the tannin contents, probably did not exist, nor probably was tannin generally looked upon as the main source of mischief in excessive tea drinking as it is now, owing to the non-existence in those early times of any research work on the properties of tea. Tea drinking in England became fashionable in 1662, gained popularity and came into common use in 1715.

We are told that although there appears to be ample corroboration that tea had its genesis in China, nevertheless there has been much controversy as to whether the tea plant originated in China or India. There are interesting particulars in the book as to how India came to dominate the tea markets of the world.

As might be expected, all the most important tea-producing areas lie within a restricted range of latitude and longitude. Although tea is now successfully grown in twenty three countries, only nine produce it in such marketable quantities as to render them commercially important—these being India, China, Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, Japan, Formosa, Indo-China and Nyasaland. It is of interest to read that experiments in the cultivation of tea have been tried in Europe—in Sweden, England, France, Italy and Bulgaria. This indicates how wide-flung the attempts have been to introduce this popular and profitable leaf for which there is, and always will be a never-ending world demand.

The tea bush is fortunate in that, although it is subject to attack by a variety of pests and blights, the greater number have proved comparatively harmless. The coffee bush has not been so fortunate! It appears that the trade divides teas into three great basic classes—black, green and oolong and that the average production per acre is nearly 600 lbs.

The virtues of tea and its healthfulness have been handed down from ancient times and extolled by eminent writers ever since it became a popular beverage. It is said to purify the blood, ease the brain, prevent dropsy, clear the sight, strengthen the memory, drive away fear—also to produce many good effects and few bad ones, to have a strange power of changing one's outlook for the better, to contribute to the sobriety of a nation, to be the most beneficial gift that the West owes to the Orient—truly a panacea for all human troubles! The Dutch physician's advice referred to earlier should, however, be followed with caution, since excess of anything is known to produce physical and mental disorder!

In conclusion, a word on the preparation of tea. Use freshly boiled water and do not allow infusion for more than five minutes.

CLASHING TIDES OF COLOUR. By Lothrop Stoddard (*Scribners*) 10s 6d net.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

Mr Lothrop Stoddard whose work on *The Rising Tide of Colour against White Supremacy* attracted no little attention has returned to the subject in his present work. He begins by postulating a comity of Europe which existed in one form up to the fifteenth century and took on another after the Renaissance. In both cases Christianity was the binding cement—in the first a Catholic Christianity with subordination to Rome, in the second a more diluted Christianity, but a comity still founded on unity of religion and unity of culture. And so, down to 1914 Europe's many wars retained a certain limited character. The balance of power in Europe might be altered, but the comity of Europe would not thereby be destroyed. This comity was shattered by the Great War. He proceeds to elaborate this idea by discussing the secession of Russia which tends to become more and more Asiatic, the aloofness of America which holds her back from white-Western solidarity, the policy of France in calling in black hosts to fight for her, and the hyper nationalism of Fascist and, it may be added, of all other States.



In Asia, with which this review is more directly concerned, Mr Stoddard finds more alarming symptoms. The Chinese are attempting to Westernize their country, with the result that they have cast away their own ancient civilization and have put nothing in its place. The consequence is chaos. Even Japan is not an organic growth but a synthetic product. He is harping continually on the theme that though you may adopt Western manners, Western dress, and Western material inventions, the only way to become Western is to adopt the whole Western outfit, and this involves the complete transformation of the people. He admits that a country like India has been profoundly penetrated by Western ideas and that you cannot go back on that, but he contends that the real issue is whether Westernism can become effective. It is natural that an American writer should devote the longest chapter to the problem of Japan, and on the whole this is perhaps the most suggestive chapter of the book, having regard to the place of Japan in world politics. The Japanese are increasing at such a rate that they must either suffocate or explode. Their main problem is population. It is certain that they will not suffocate and it is very doubtful that they will explode.

When he comes to India Mr Stoddard finds very little to relieve the gloomy picture of an Asiatic world trying to be someone else. He leaves the impression that he has no first hand knowledge of the country. His sketch of early history is superficial and Tilak's organ was the *Kesari*, not the *Yugantar*.

It is perhaps hypocritical to object to Mr Stoddard's frequent use of the word *literally*. Thus the first shots of Armageddon saw the comity of the West literally blown from the muzzles of the guns, and again, Asia is literally in the melting-pot. We know what he means, but English practice may be different from American.

Mr Stoddard offers no solution. The world as he sees it is in a state of transition, trying to adapt itself to the new civilization of the machine. Perhaps it will perhaps it will not, we must hope for the best. Not a very comforting conclusion. The book is, however, suggestive and very well worth reading. It provokes criticism no doubt but it also provokes reflection.

THE WANDERING SPIRIT. A Study of Human Migration. By Ragnar Numelin (*Macmillan*) 20s net.

The book before us is of a most fascinating kind. In book form it is a novelty, for we do not remember the subject having been dealt with in such an exhaustive manner before. Professor Westermarck, in prefacing the volume, explains what the learned author intends to describe. One finds that migrations have taken place not merely by instinct of human nature, but that certain reasons have existed for such wanderings, for instance, want of food, geographical or climatic conditions, also lust for war. Finally, these wanderings have been, and still are, the sign of great mental or physical activity. Dr Numelin's grasp is wide, he takes us to Asia, to Oceania, to Africa, America and to Europe, and treats not merely of man, but also of

animals. He enters even into legends referring to migration he writes of fishermen and hunters, always in separate chapters and of the nomads. The magical and religious motives throughout the world form a most interesting subject, and a special chapter is devoted to the gipsies. The number of references to previous works is simply overwhelming, the list of authorities quoted comprises forty five pages, and there is a complete index to the volume. One feels certain that this learned volume will receive wide attention.

## FICTION

LOCUST FOOD By Hilton Brown (*Geoffrey Bles*) 7s 6d net.

(Reviewed by L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS)

It is refreshing to read a novel dealing with India from which political questions are completely excluded and in which there is only incidental mention of Governors, A.D.C.s and other suchlike pillars of the administration. Mr Hilton Brown, so the publisher's dust-cover informs us, has been a member of the Indian Civil Service but he has nevertheless avoided the temptation of viewing India simply as a country to be governed. He has taken for his subject not the life and work of the official hierarchy, but the existence (to employ the more modest expression) of the business man. The tragedy of an early blunder due to pure quixotry threatens to ruin the days of Martin Armory but he is strong, as well as self-sacrificing, and the story leaves him on the verge of a happiness which he has well deserved.

Mr Hilton Brown is to be congratulated upon this book. It is a touching story, told with restraint and without exaggeration. It moves against an Indian background, depicted with obvious love for the country and its people. But the background is merely incidental: the characters live and breathe. As a picture of the life of the British commercial community in India during the recent depression, it stands for the successful accomplishment of something which has never been attempted before.

## NEAR EAST

MOSLEM WOMEN ENTER A NEW WORLD By Ruth Frances Woodsmall  
(*Allen and Unwin*) 12s. 6d net.

(Reviewed by E. ROSENTHAL)

This work is a most comprehensive and interesting survey of the emancipation of Moslem women which has taken place of recent years. As the author stresses in her foreword, the integral connection between the change in the position of Moslem women and the present fundamental change in Islamic life and thought makes a study of Moslem women today more than a study in Eastern feminism. Rather may it be interpreted as the index of the change in the whole Islamic social system.

Miss Woodsmall's basic knowledge of her theme was acquired during

nine years Y W C.A. service in Turkey and Syria. A travelling fellowship of the Rockefeller Foundation afforded her opportunity for journeying farther afield to observe the altering conditions in the lives of Mohammedan women. Consequently her book was born of her experiences in Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Iran, and India. The work is of special value because it is so up-to-date that it deals with events which occurred as recently as the earlier part of 1936.

Amongst the countries passed in review, Turkey is the most advanced with regard to the position of women. Whereas elsewhere in the Moslem East there are merely definite trends of change toward the fuller economic participation of women, in Turkey the full process of change has already been accomplished under the new régime. In some respects the modern Turkish woman has an advantage over her worker sister of the West. In Turkey there is as yet no overcrowding in the professions selected by women and promotion is rapid. For example women physicians have only made their appearance in Turkey since the new order of things—the first Turkish woman doctor having studied in Germany, began her practice in Istanbul in 1922—yet unusual recognition has been accorded them. The first medical Director of School Hygiene was a woman doctor and a young woman surgeon is the head of the Istanbul Children's Hospital. Turkish women doctors are regarded by the public as professionally equal to men and are received on a basis of cordial equality by their colleagues.

Part II is entitled *Education The Key to Progress*. The opening chapter treats of the educational awakening in Iraq where nowadays, according to the Director of Girls' Education, there is universal interest in girls' education—not one in a thousand would oppose it. Conservatism has been disarmed because instruction is advancing within the traditions of Islam. In the principal girls' school in Baghdad as in many similar institutions in India, purdah regulations are in force. Yet the motivation is markedly progressive. In 1928 the Government of Iraq founded foreign scholarships for girls and there are now several Iraqi women students in the British and American Colleges in Beirut. The thirst for education amongst their women is displayed by certain semi nomads of the desert. Sheikh Banu Hassan, the chief of a large tribe, told Miss Woodsmall of his request to Government for a qualified teacher who, by moving about would be able to give instruction to the girls of his whole tribe and prepare them to become intelligent mothers.

In Iran girls' education is scarcely yet in its adolescence, modern school methods having been introduced only within the last ten years. A significant tendency towards the severance of education from religion is apparent. Schools are allowed to choose between religion and ethics and the scale turns in favour of the latter. In 1935 the Shah decreed that only girls who appeared unveiled could receive diplomas and honours, and this order catapulted forward the emancipation of women.

In her chapter *The Road Ahead in Girls' Education in India* the author stresses the retardation of the education of Moslem girls owing to purdah, early marriage, and the conservatism of the Nationalist Movement. Fear of absorption has frequently caused Indian Moslems to choose to leave their

girls without instruction rather than to unite with Hindus in scholastic matters. This reaction is similar in character to that of the Moslem community in Palestine in relation to Zionism. When giving evidence before the Education Committee of the Simon Commission, one Moslem leader, an Oxford graduate, summarized his and his co-religionists' attitude as follows:

We desire education for girls under proper Islamic discipline, but otherwise we would prefer to keep them out of school. Miss Woodsmall also throws a searchlight on to the reverse side of the picture, revealing that the few Moslem women in India who are highly educated often occupy positions of unusual prominence. Reference is made to that majestic figure Her Highness the late Begum of Bhopal, whose vision transcended all obstacles of the veil and other disabilities by which Indian women are hampered. The great work accomplished by the Girl Guide Movement in India is also emphasized.

The dangers attending the rapid introduction of Western manners and methods and the drastic readjustments necessitated thereby are envisaged and Miss Woodsmall's refutation of the arguments that social freedom has a deleterious influence is clean-cut and convincing. With reference to Turkey she writes as follows:

As to the effect of social freedom on morals it is probably true that the first few years of the new freedom were characterized by difficult personal adjustments which resulted in a certain inevitable amount of serious moral casualties. The transition period, however, is rapidly passing or has already passed in the larger cities where social life has settled into the normal social atmosphere of a European city.

Egypt ranks only second to Turkey in the recognition of women's education as a basis for economic independence. Opinion is divided as to whether it is possible to cater for the special needs of girls without some sacrifice of the principles of equality between the sexes. It is recognized, however, that the objectives of education for girls are not adequately met by the curriculum designed for the needs of boys. As a whole, general vocational training for girls has not been introduced because the openings of Western Europe are not yet available to Egyptian womanhood.

With her telephoto lens Miss Woodsmall has focussed on to the paradoxical curtailment of women's economic and civic liberties in Germany, which movement has had repercussions in other Western countries. However, Turkish and Indian women whose opinion is worth while consider that such retrograde measures will not prove a deterrent to the progress of Moslem women towards their double-barrelled goal of freedom and equality with men. National Socialist ideas seem beyond the skyline of the leaders of the women's movement in Asia.

Nobody concerned with the present day developments and activities of Moslem women in the Near and Middle East can afford to ignore Miss Woodsmall's book, with its wonderfully lucid pictures of an important cross-section of the world of Islam. In her preliminary remarks, Miss Woodsmall explains that it was impossible for her to incorporate in her survey any views of almost unaltered Arabia, to serve as background for the quick

changes in other Moslem lands. Such a background undoubtedly would have been of interest, yet without its assistance the author has achieved a masterpiece which, chronicling as it does the parting of the old ways from the new, will be as useful for future as it is for present study. That the author could not include in her range all Moslem countries does not detract from the value of her work.

A valuable supplement to Miss Woodsmall's comments on the angle from which the education of Moslem women is regarded in India is afforded by the Presidential Address of H. H. the Princess Durru Shehvar at the Tenth Session of the Hyderabad State Women's Conference held on October 30, 1936. In alluding to the Osmania University College for Women, the Princess emphasized that Hyderabad is one of the few states having such a women's college. She also paid tribute to the Women's Association for Educational and Social Advancement which sends ten Hyderabad delegates to the sessions of that important central body, the All India Women's Conference, with which it is affiliated. The Princess, who is the daughter-in-law of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and the wife of the heir to the throne, is an ardent educationist, as evidenced by her advocacy of the spread of free primary education throughout H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. She underlined that Indian women must be taught the dignity of work, adding that every woman ought to be in a position to support herself by means of an honourable livelihood should the occasion arise. The discriminate acceptance of foreign culture, in accordance with the needs and circumstances of Indian women rather than blind imitation leading to sterile mediocrity was another point of this admirable discourse. By her patronage of the Women's Association for Educational and Social Advancement in Hyderabad State, the Princess has furnished yet another proof of the unfailing support afforded to the women's movement by the ruling family of Hyderabad.

**HISTORIC CYPRUS** By Rupert Gunnis (*Methuen*) 8s. 6d. net  
(Reviewed by A. HAROLD UNWIN)

For the first time an intrepid and persevering author has had the courage and persistence to visit all the 1,800 churches, chapels and mosques in the Island of Cyprus. *Historic Cyprus* enshrines the results of this great quest. To say the task was a labour of love is an under-statement of fact. Mingled with great pleasure, satisfaction at achievement, there runs through this guide book, also incidentally officially blessed, a rich vein of humour.

In 495 pages this gifted writer has managed to give the salient features and facts of the Island's history, including that of the six chief towns, Nicosia, Famagusta, Larnaca, Limasol, Kyrenia and Paphos. A good index satisfies the curious and serious inquirer as to the whereabouts of all Agia Marina or Agia Harvara or other named churches.

Most clearly is the history of the Church delineated and sculptured by its monumental structures. Alas, as the author so often points out, these are often spoilt by recent additions, such as a belfry in modern style. The clear map at the end of the book invites the reader to follow the author in

his lonely and hazardous journeys over rough mountain paths to explore the last chapel or pagan shrine. The seven plans show quite clearly the most interesting places to be visited.

In a scholarly introduction Professor Talbot Rice gives a detailed account of the Icon and the Eastern Church. A foreword here is most appropriate, and adds much to the knowledge of this unknown subject.

All through the book the influence of Asia is seen and felt. Ancient pagan shrines vie with Christian cathedrals and chapels for a share of the reader's attention so strongly held by the author's appeal to every emotion. From the dim past there gradually emerges the Christian Church laid on the foundation of Aphrodite's and Astarte's shrines.

The half-tone plates only whet the appetite to see the places in their own local setting.

Though the author says the book should only be taken in small doses, yet as a guide book it would be difficult to find another which has such a variety of fare really suitable to every taste. Quite apart from the cleverness of the author in using the material at hand yet the fact that Canaanites, Hittites, Assyrians, Persians, Phoenicians, Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Arabs, English Crusaders, Lusignans (Franks), Genoese, Venetians, Turks and English conquered, settled or invaded the Island makes its history so chequered and so full of colour and drama.

Although always belonging to Asia geographically even today many readers do not realise how Asiatic is the Island of Cyprus and its people. For this reason anyone interested in the study of Western Asia should not fail to place this book in a public or private library. So much has come from Western Asia that it is most refreshing to find that the little Island of Cyprus (3,584 square miles in extent) also played its part in the destinies of empires long since passed away. Cyprus, like Asia, being early peopled in Phœnician, Roman and especially Turkish times, was denuded of its forests and trees for the mining, building and naval needs of all its conquerors.

As in recent years attention has been focussed on the ruins of Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, so from a study of this delightful *vade-mecum* there springs a keen desire to further the cause of archaeology here. In *Historic Cyprus* the author has done a service in the field of Asiatic studies by inviting attention to the attractions of Cyprus with its unique collection of buildings, sites and shrines of all ages.

Ten years ago Captain Gunnis came to Cyprus and during the last three has been engaged, in addition to his other work, in writing this book. Although it was a pleasure to him to write it, yet it is also as much, if not more to the reader. Glances of the East, as it has been and as it is still today, appear all through. The writer has truly brought out the charm and mystery of Cyprian legends, stories and history. No other country of so small a size can boast such serried ranks of tales. Health and religious cures and miracles all vie with one another in the unfolding of the Island's destiny from the beginning of time. The monasteries alone provide ample material for a separate study, as also do the Turkish mosques, many of which were erstwhile Christian churches. Again the autocephalous char-

acter of the Cyprus Eastern Orthodox Church is explained. This little book tells the story why the Archbishop writes and signs his name in red ink, wears a purple robe and carries a sceptre. Bones of saints, martyrs and prehistoric animals are inextricably mixed in the Island's beautiful myths.

Faith still abounds in the miracle working wonders of shrine and monastery. Previously scarcely known, Cyprus through this book will become a mecca for all interested in Asiatic as well as English history of Richard Cœur de Lion's time and since 1878.

This British Colony of Cyprus has now found in the author a very dear friend, as well as a most capable and humorous writer. Well printed, tastefully bound in black and blue of convenient (octavo) size at 8s. 6d. this most readable book is cheap and good value for the money.

May it arouse further interest in Asia both at home and abroad.

A DICTIONARY OF ASSYRIAN CHEMISTRY AND GEOLOGY. By R. Campbell Thompson. (*Clarendon Press*) 21s. net.

This new and important volume adds to the renown of Mr. R. Campbell Thompson. Oriental science is an intriguing subject, and has aroused, especially within the last few years, the special attention of scholars. One should only think of the fundamental work on the *History of Science* by Dr. George Sarton. It requires special knowledge to compile a Dictionary of Assyrian science and calls for special training not merely in Assyriology which the learned author possesses by common consent—he has already issued a work on Assyrian medical texts—but it calls for knowledge of chemistry and cognate sciences and for those he has received the help of well known authorities. From the tablets Mr. Thompson has been able to read texts on botany on the animal kingdom on glass and beads, on the staining of stones and on geology. He has combined the results of this particular study into the present volume, which is of great value to the Assyriologist, as well as to the archaeologist and the historian of ancient science.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN DANCES. By Irena Lexova. With drawings from reproductions on Ancient Egyptian Originals by Milada Lexova. Translation by K. Haltmar. (Prague: *The Oriental Institute*.)

Within recent years great progress has been made in the study of Oriental dancing. Performances have been given in public of Indian, Japanese and Javanese dancing, and books have been issued to the delight of artists. No monograph has so far been published on ancient Egyptian dancing, although chapters have been devoted to it in different books. This is quite understandable, as Egyptian dancing requires great knowledge of this ancient literature. But here we have a happy father, Professor of Egyptology, F. Lexa, of Prague University, and here are also his two intelligent and cultured daughters who have combined to fill an actual gap in the literature of Oriental culture. Miss Irena has undertaken to compile the text and has

turned it into a perfect textbook. There is nothing dry in the beautiful volume, there is life and rhythm, there is artistic feeling, and in addition there is serious and solid study behind it. Miss Irena has gone deeply into the subject, as the bibliography proves, and her judgment on previous writings shows decided independence of thought. The treatise discloses—and this will surprise the reader—that there have been eleven kinds of dancing and each is adequately described. Miss Irena has discovered the three movements of the dancer: man and woman; she also describes the costumes.

Miss Milada has done the other part of the book: she has copied the seventy-seven plates from older publications accurately, and these illustrations are bound to be of great use to the artist, they should really render the learning of the dance perfectly easy. The two Misses Lexova will by their combined efforts earn the gratitude of men and women of culture for explaining the ancient Egyptian art of dancing to a hitherto uninformed public.

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#### FAR EAST

PAINCE ITO. By Kengi Hamada (*Allen and Unwin*) 7s 6d net

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN)

This is an ideal biography of one of the greatest statesmen that the modern world has seen, combined with all the essential history of the amazing transformation of Japan from mediæval feudalism to the rank of a first-class Power. Mr Hamada has done his work exceptionally well, avoiding too much repetition of well-known facts—for example, the wars with China and Russia, so far as the fighting goes, are dismissed in two or three lines—filling in many unknown details and presenting his hero as it were, in a series of acts in a great drama. Incidentally, the fact that Mr Hamada can criticize his hero makes the picture all the more telling. Ito's pleasures in moments of relaxation—the old ones of wine, women and song—might be deemed undignified in a statesman of such lofty vision. Yet without this occasional unbending of the bow, it is questionable whether he could have borne the tremendous strain that policy imposed.

The amazing thing is the grasp of essentials and realities which Ito revealed while still a youth. The first section deals with the quarrels between the Court at Kyoto and the Shogunate, due to the latter's pro-foreign tendency. Ito was an ardent Imperialist, which, of course, at that time implied that he was violently anti-foreign. He actually took the lead in burning down the British Legation at Gotenyama. Yet within a year or two he had seen the folly of resisting the foreigner, had slipped secretly abroad to learn some of the foreigner's wisdom, had laboured desperately to bring the Lord of Choshu to reason and thus avert the bombardment of Shimonoseki (particularly interesting chapters these), and by the time he was twenty-eight was a trusted counsellor of the Emperor and Governor of the important centre of Hiogo.

Mr Hamada throws a useful light on why Ito strove so hard (virtually



in defiance of his own Government) to achieve an *entente* with Russia, even while Hayashi in London was working out the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Ito foresaw war with Russia and meant to avert it, though in fact his conversations in St. Petersburg here transcribed suggest that a hundred Ito's could never have prevented the war. He was neither pro-Russian nor anti-British, but for equal friendship with all, and when the Alliance had been concluded he exhorted his fellow-countrymen not to allow it to lead them into unfriendliness with any country.

Of course Ito was misunderstood again and again by men of less vision than himself. That comes out clearly in the pages describing the introduction of parliamentary government, and particularly in connection with his creation in 1900 of Japan's first real party, the Seiyukai. The House of Peers thought that he was trying to convert the House of Representatives into a tool with which he might rule as a dictator and obstinately refused to vote the credits for the army in North China (it was it will be remembered the Boxer year). Eventually the Emperor intervened and the Peers gave in at once. The incident is an interesting one to recall in connection with General Ugaki's recent failure to form a Cabinet in face of the army's opposition.

Most tragic of all misunderstandings was that of Korea for the one man who might have saved her from annexation. These last pages describing Ito's heroic efforts to make Korea a self-respecting, independent State, are of the most poignant interest. And a Korean patriot shot him down at Harbin. What an ending for Ito and for Korea!

CHINA'S NEW CURRENCY SYSTEM By T'ang Leang li (*China United Press*)  
Gold \$2

CHINA FACTS AND FANCIES Edited by T'ang Leang li (*China United Press*)  
Gold \$3

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER IN CHINA By T'ang Leang li (*China United Press*) Gold \$3.50

(Reviewed by O. M. GREEN)

These three books contain a vast amount of interesting reading, the product of Mr. T'ang Leang li's tireless industry. Sometimes his enthusiasm for New China tempts one to question or retort, but this is understandable and pardonable by the well-attested progress which China has made in the past few years.

The volume on currency gives an illuminating account of events leading up to the managed currency that was introduced with such startling success in November, 1935. The practice of every province and almost every bank to issue its own notes inevitably led, in the T'uchun era, when China was virtually split up into a series of petty military baronies, to appalling depreciation, when the value of the copper cent, nominally 100 to the dollar, dropped to something like 1,800. The National Government had done much to improve matters by introducing a sound dollar coinage when the American Silver Purchase Act fell upon it like a blizzard. The

immediate outflow of silver may be gauged from the fact that between August and October, 1934, the excess of exported silver over imported amounted to \$183,566,659. Attempts to check this outflow by an export tax had very little effect. Hence the bold step of going off silver altogether, the success of which is in itself a conspicuous tribute to the confidence which the Central Government has acquired in China.

The second volume *China Facts and Fancies*, is a collection of little essays on many subjects, mostly putting the Chinese point of view on issues where China meets the West. One rather regrets the section devoted to Shanghai, betraying a bitterness which, though one may understand it, might be suppressed, if not forgotten especially when many foreigners are doing their best to obliterate its causes. The essay on Advice to Curio Hunters is most amusing and one admires the boldness of the writer who claims that Chinese ought to be the universal language of the world.

By far the best of the three is *The New Social Order in China* which puts in admirable form the background of China's history, philosophy and social institutions. Without some knowledge of these it is impossible to understand the tremendousness of the undertaking when Young China twenty five years ago, decided for the first time for a revolution as distinct from the many rebellions China had known. And further it enables the reader to appreciate the hopefulness of the present tendency to revert to China's own best perception of things and theory of life while grafting on to it what she can most suitably borrow from the West. The influence on these lines of such leaders of thought as Dr Tsai Yuan pei, Dr Hu Shih and Mr Wang Ching wei is very interestingly shown. Altogether a stimulating and suggestive book.

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RETURN TO MALAYA By Bruce Lockhart. (Putnam) 10s 6d net

(Reviewed by A. G. MORRILL, *Malayan Civil Service retired*)

No place has changed so much in recent years as British Malaya. Its natural wealth has enabled changes to take place more rapidly than they do elsewhere. The life and work of an Englishman is totally different from what it was twenty five years ago.

The author calls attention to some of the chief changes. The huge increase in the number of white women and the passing of the directing force of social life into their hands. Even admitting its inevitability, I cannot consider that it is a change for the better. To it he attributes the absence of intellectual interests which is a defective feature of British Colonial life in tropical countries. He might have added that this now prevailing suburban life has been one of the causes which tends to keep the Englishman out of touch with the Asiatic population in country districts. First, there is the problem of Asiatic membership of English clubs. In the second place, the social activities of the headquarters club tempt a man to jump into a car and go there, when his day's work is done, instead of pottering about his district and getting to know his people.

The author stresses the change in outlook which has been brought about

by the naval base. He gives the impression that our prestige has visibly declined suggesting as causes the Great War, the cinema, the behaviour of white women, and the tendency of white men to put comfort before dignity. But has our prestige really declined? I prefer to look at it this way. In early days we rescued the people from internecine warfare, piracy, debt-slavery and other abominations of Malay rule. We brought new inventions, hospitals, schools, naturally we were hailed as deliverers by an illiterate and oppressed people. But this people now includes men and women who have distinguished themselves in commerce, law and medicine, men who are as well educated as the best of us, some with Cambridge degrees, others with English wives. The Asiatic community owns a good half of the tin and rubber. The Asiatic level is merely rising in all these spheres, ours is not declining. There is no longer any mystery about us but the respect accorded us has not on that account departed.

Many of us would agree with the author when he says. The pioneer days are ended, and to many, including myself the loss in attractiveness of life in Malaya is immeasurable. All the same, good communications and better health conditions have enabled the Englishman to do more than he did and to last longer. Life should still be enjoyable even if it has lost some of the spice and romance of yesterday. The Malay is still the delightful fellow he has always been.

The author mentions the problem of finding employment for the product of the higher schools and Raffles College. We are turning out he says thousands of clerks for whom there will not be sufficient jobs and who sooner or later will form a discontented white-coated native proletariat. Alas! too true. But the demand for an English education comes from the people and is insistent. He rightly says that Civil Servants are not to blame for education and that the real educationalist is the international trader.

On his arrival at Pantai the survivors of his old football team were there to meet him—after twenty five years. Incidents such as these surely prove that there cannot be much wrong with our relations with the local people. The solid rock of friendship and mutual esteem is a surer foundation than prestige.

I am inclined to join issue with the author in what he says about the Selangor succession.

Few Europeans in the East have time to study the customs and traditions of Asiatics. Governments possess records of such customs and traditions received direct from the elders and chiefs and also records of the application of them in the past. In Selangor the most suitable member of the ruling house has in each case been selected during the last century—the circumstances of the time indicating the qualities necessary for the successor. It should have been obvious to a writer of such experience as Mr. Lockhart that the action taken in Selangor must have been very fully considered in the highest quarters before anything was done locally, and any suggestion that decentralization had any bearing on the succession is therefore groundless.

The author's account of his visit to the Netherlands East Indies is most interesting. We learn that much of the discontent in that country is among

the poor half-castes. The Dutch strike the author as having more dignity than we in Malaya have. It has not saved them from worse political troubles.

The Eurasians in British colonies tend to side with the English. It is interesting to read that there were half-castes in the Volksraad and that they sat with the Javanese in the nationalist bloc. The problem which confronts the Dutch in Java resembles that which faces us in India, being largely economic and due to the pressure of a teeming population on the food supply. When times are bad the Government is always blamed.

Besides being excellent reading, being full of colourful descriptions of people, scenes and places and interspersed with good stories, the book stimulates thought on the all important question of colonies and expresses some sound views on these questions which so deeply concern each one of us.

His description of Malaya as a whole hotch potch of Oriental races living happily together and working side by side under British protection is about right.

The author revisits the scene of an early romance. The story of this pilgrimage and of his meeting with the Malay lady is told with dignity and sincerity.

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REPORT ON ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL CONDITIONS IN JAPAN (H.M. Stationery Office) 2s 6d net

This report shows that industrial production continues to rise. The tendency towards official control of both industry and trade also continues. To this end the Staple Industries Control Law has been amended to strengthen the export guilds and generally to widen the scope of official intervention. There is no evidence of production costs having risen. Wage rates, too, have remained unchanged.

As regards the various industries, the production of motor-cars and parts has been placed under licence and subjected to Government control. The electric power industry has expanded. Total paid up capital invested in it was, at the end of 1934, 4 000 million yen. In May last there was evidence that the existing Government control of the industry was to be intensified with a view to eventual nationalization. The prospect has not been greeted with satisfaction by the companies concerned.

In the cotton industry Japanese shippers have, as a result of the world wide action to limit imports of Japanese origin, found themselves obliged to increase shipments of the lower grade cloths in order to offset decreased exports of bleached and finished goods, against which types the restrictions have usually been directed. No compensation can be found in the home market, where rayon and staple fibre fabrics are preferred. The organization of the industry has also been modified of late. The necessity for control of exports has shifted the power to a great extent from the hands of the big spinners (who are in many instances also weavers or controllers of weaving concerns) to the export associations, and the need of controlling production has vested authority in yet other associations. Rayon and staple fibre both show increased production. Rayon yarn exports have leapt from

9 million pounds in 1933 to 30 millions in 1935 due to production much beyond the needs of the weavers. Staple fibre has benefited by the curtailment regulations of the rayon producers. There has been a slight export of staple fibre fabrics. It has, however, been stated that the product is not entirely satisfactory. Wool yarns and tissues maintained their position and there has been only a reasonable expansion of production. Spinners did well at the end of 1935, when raw wool prices rose, since they held ample stocks. By the middle of 1936, however, these stocks were exhausted, but the tariff dispute with Australia, foreshadowing control of wool imports from that country, sent both yarn and cloth prices up, and prospects for the rest of the year were rosy. 1935 was a better year for raw silk than any since 1930. Exports and prices both rose. High prices in the end turned consumers away but the following year, when prices declined, business again looked up.

The most important buyer of Japanese goods is still the British Empire. The percentage in 1935 was 28.1 of total exports against 23.6 (U.S.A.) and 17.1 (Manchuria and Leased Territory). The U.S.A. leads the importing countries, supplying 33.7 in 1935 against 31.4 (British Empire). The United Kingdom took 121.4 million yens worth of goods out of a total supply to the British Empire of 704 million yen, and exported to Japan 82.2 million yen of a total British Empire export figure of 780 million yen. Generally speaking, Japan, in trade with the United Kingdom and her colonies, sells more than she buys while, as regards the Dominions and India, the position is reversed.

BEHIND THE SMILE IN REAL JAPAN. By E. K. Venables. Illustrated from photographs (*Harrap*) 10s. 6d. net.

There are numerous books on Japan written by visitors for entertainment, there are others written by residents which are often more instructive. The beautiful volume before us belongs to the latter class. Years of experience have allowed Mr. Venables to observe the public and private life closely. He describes the people, their houses, housework, and dress. In other chapters he deals with town life and the craftsmen. Mr. Venables contradicts the generally held opinion that Japan is the children's paradise; he writes of the great mortality amongst children which in a way is remedied by an exceptionally high birthrate, nor does he speak favourably of student life, though the photograph shows smiling faces. It is interesting to learn that the author's views of Japan as a trade rival contradict those expressed in European newspapers, and it is explained why the export trade must be limited, as the chief natural products consist of rice and silk.

Mr. Venables is convinced that Japanese military power also is much exaggerated, and he believes in collective action against the soldiers' determination to obtain a greater foothold in China.

GLIMPSES OF OLD JAPAN FROM JAPANESE COLOUR PRINTS BIRDS AND FLOWERS  
By C G Holme (*The Studio Office*) 5s. net.

The famous *Studio* has for many years past contributed very largely to our knowledge of Japanese art. The same office now issues a series of monographs on the same subject, containing chiefly reproductions from Japanese prints. A selection of eight plates in colour has now been carefully made by Mr Holme, being reproductions of Imao Keinen, Baurei, Sugaku Hokusai, and Hiroshige, to which a brief note is given by way of explanation. We recommend the lover of art to read the introductory matter which tells us much about these flowers and birds and their connection with the poet and artist.

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INTRODUCTION TO LITERARY CHINESE By J J Brandt. Second edition  
(*Peiping Henry Vetch*) 21s. net.

This most useful work was first issued in 1927 and the reissue some ten years later is sufficient guarantee of its value. The number of modern books in literary Chinese is not large and the student is therefore fortunate in getting into his hands one which makes his difficult task more easy. With this help the beginner is not required to have much knowledge—he can study at once. The book is divided into short stories, fairy tales, documentary papers, newspaper articles and family letters, and a grammatical section—all practical subjects with which the student is concerned. The Chinese text is given, the vocabulary, rendering each word into English, is added, valuable notes follow, and finally, a perfect translation, providing the readable English version with the altered Chinese way of expression.

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THE TRUE FACE OF JAPAN A Japanese upon Japan By Komakichi Nohara  
(*Jarrolds*) 16s. net.

The reader of this book will find on almost every page something new and something that will make him think. If it represents the thought of modern Japan, it discloses a self-assertion, a strong will, and belief in Japanese power of which the outside world should take full note. When referring to the picture of Japan painted by Lafcadio Hearn the author states it to be true, but emphasizes that this picture is of one side only—the everyday and less pleasant side has perhaps been drawn by others. When writing of world trade, he states that the same antagonism used to be shown towards another nation, and, further, that the hall mark, Made in Japan, will be for goods of the highest quality. In writing of their military power, Mr Nohara maintains that Japan has never yet shown her real strength. We know how united the country is when faced by a common enemy, and can therefore presume the one mind, the united will in the event of a new danger threatening their progress.

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JAPAN RECOLLECTIONS AND IMPRESSIONS. By Grace James. (*Allen and Unwin*) 10s 6d net.

The present volume, beautifully produced and illustrated, is a book of memoirs by Miss James, who lived at Tokyo from 1885 to 1895 at a time when British naval missions acted as instructors to the Japanese navy. A child does not easily forget, and her thoughts are not biased by political considerations. In 1934 Miss James paid another visit, and her account of the vast changes in the aspect of the city itself, and the life and thought of the people, reminds the reader what can be accomplished in forty years. Japan has altered from night to day, or *vice versa*. The whole book is full of amazement and wonder, beautifully described by the authoress, and, as she still retained her knowledge of Japanese, we learn a great deal more than usual. The ghost and fox stories will add interest, they are uncommon and are stories told by a Japanese teacher. Another chapter, on the Tea ceremony and the No Drama, will also fascinate the cultured who wish to obtain an intimate knowledge of the Japanese. It is interesting to note that a woman like Miss James writes of the future of Japan in a strain different from, for instance, Mr. Venables. She holds that Japan is likely to carry out her political programme, and this is substantiated by the character of the people: ingenious, energetic, frugal, and single-minded. We can congratulate Miss James on a valuable and charming piece of entertaining literature.

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INDIA AND THE WORLD. By Pundit Jawahur Lal Nehru. (*Allen and Unwin*) 5s net.

(Reviewed by SIR WILLIAM BARTON)

*India is a land of paradox: it is in keeping with that characteristic that the Indian Congress, essentially a bourgeois organization, should elect as its president Pundit Jawahur Lal Nehru, a politician who is at heart a communist and whose spiritual home is Moscow.* But whatever his political complexion it cannot be denied that the Pundit has played an outstanding part in the political agitation of the last sixteen years in India: he has ability, drive and personal magnetism. For those who are prepared to make a brief excursion into the Indian political field the little volume of essays recently published by him is well worth perusal.

Pundit Jawahur Lal Nehru is by caste a Kashmiri Brahmin. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge, he practised for some time at the Indian Bar before devoting himself to politics. Now he is not quite sure whether he is a Hindu: in any case his mentality has a strong infusion of Western culture. Temperamentally a rebel, British imperialism is for him the embodiment of evil, to be expelled root and branch from India. No compromise is possible: there is no halfway house. The next move in political manoeuvring in India must be a Constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage, which would of course mean the withdrawal of the British.

The Pundit takes a broader view of Indian problems than the ordinary

Indian politician. For the latter, he asserts, the dominant motive is the spoils of office and other advantages arising from political power the Pundit desires to control the destinies of his country in order that he may destroy the existing social and economic system and rebuild it on Marxian principles. He realizes that Congress is not yet prepared to follow his lead his policy for the moment is to contest the elections in order to get into touch with the rural masses and so inoculate them with red doctrines.

The Congress would not take office its endeavour would be to destroy the federation and to build afresh. In the Pundit's view India's real trouble is economic the problem of the poverty of the masses, especially of the peasantry. The new parliamentary régime, placing as it does, power in the hands of the reactionary groups, the princes, the financiers, money lenders, industrialists, holds out no hope for the countryside. There is a good deal to be said for this particular theory. The bulwark of the capitalist system in India and the world is, according to the Pundit, British imperialism the first thing is to destroy it.

What does this admirer of Lenin offer the Indian peasant when he has grasped political power? True to his sympathy with Moscow he would collectivize the land and abolish the system of peasant holdings as uneconomic, an astounding proposal for anyone who knows the intense attachment of the Indian peasant to his land. Most of them would prefer to live and die in debt than accept the alternative offered them. Such a scheme would let loose a huge unemployed proletariat for which the State would have to provide. Mr. Nehru has no real solution of the new problem that will arise.

The Pundit has no use for the Indian States. They are an anachronism which would long since have disappeared but for the support of an alien power. He speaks contemptuously of their methods, of the claims of some to divine right, Congress when it comes into its own would not tolerate these relics of ancient feudalism. Without British support they would soon come to terms. When the President of the strongest political organization in India uses such language it is hardly surprising that rulers like the Maharaja of Patiala and Bikanir should disparage in forcible terms the Pundit's ideas of democracy.

He is equally unconvincing on the communal problem. That will vanish, he says, when Congress rules. It is mainly of British creation, a political question of the upper middle classes, to whom the spoils of office are the principal object, a problem of the conflict between upper middle-class Hindus and Muslims for jobs and power. It is not really religious.

Ostrich-like the Pundit refuses to admit that any military danger would confront the new India of his imagination. Japan, whose imperialism he detests, would be too occupied with subjugating China a communist India might hope for the friendship and goodwill of Soviet Russia if indeed she could not protect India against aggression. The frontier danger is a figment of British imagination. Khan Abdul Ghafor the frontier rebel, and Gandhi the rebel saint, if allowed to go to the frontier could settle in a few weeks a problem the British have muddled for nearly a century. Here the Pundit overlooks a stubborn fact of border politics, that Kabul is



the spiritual home of the Pathan, not Delhi to say nothing of his withering contempt for the Hindu.

The Pundit may find Hindu orthodoxy, not to mention Islam, an insuperable obstacle to communism as a remedy for the evils which beset the Indian body politic. Nevertheless the movement sponsored by the Congress President has already made inroads on village life. The remedy is not that prescribed by the Pundit what is really wanted is a lightening of the peasants' burdens. That can only be achieved by a self-denying ordinance on the part of the oligarchy of lawyers, financiers, industrialists and moneylenders in whose hands political power will lie in the new Constitution. How will they handle the Pundit and his red campaign in the countryside? They may in the end find an economic partnership with Britain the only solution.

BOMBAY IN THE DAYS OF GEORGE IV By F Dawtrey Drewitt. (Longman.) 10s 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR CHARLES FAWCETT)

Those who are interested in Bombay will welcome this second edition of a book that has other appeals than those of a merely historical or legal kind. Sir Edward West, a Barrister of the Inner Temple, was appointed Recorder of Bombay in 1822 and was the first Chief Justice of the newly established Supreme Court from 1824 to his death in 1828. This was a transition stage in the legal history of Bombay, and he had official difficulties to cope with, which are described in a readable manner and show him to have been a man of honour and high principles, who was not frightened from what he believed to be his duty by the unpopularity or displeasure that it entailed. But the main interest of the book to the ordinary reader lies in the light it throws on the social life of Bombay in those days by its extracts from the entertaining Journal of Lady West. These cover not only her stay at Bombay, but journeys to Goa, Salsette Island, Khandalla, Poona, and Sirur. She was a lady of considerable spirit, as is shown by her pithy comments and the way in which she successfully tackled Mount Stuart Elphinstone about his having ladies of spotted reputation to meet her at Government House.

The new edition contains some useful additions, one of which is a picture of the Harbour and Fort of old Bombay. The statement on it that Sir Edward West lived in the Fort and the Court was held there, however, needs correction. The Fort in the print is the original military Fort, or

Castle, and it was not in this, but in the extended area within the town walls completed in Governor Boone's time that West's residence and Court were situated. The latter was held in the building then known as Admiralty House, and later on as the Great Western Hotel.

LEAVES FROM THE JUNGLE. Life in a Gond Village By Verrier Elwin.  
(John Murray) 9s net.

(Reviewed by Mrs MARGUERITE MILWARD)

Those of us who have the good fortune to possess *Songs of the Forest*, by Verrier Elwin and Shamrao Hirvale, will welcome the new book entitled *Leaves from the Jungle* (Life in a Gond Village) For our appetites are whetted and we want to know more about the Gond people and more, too, of the man who has elected to spend the best years of his life amongst them. One of my most precious encounters last November was with Verrier Elwin, and, though I had not then discovered any of his books, I am glad to remember that I recognized a rare person at once.

As Verrier Elwin himself suggests, *Songs of the Forest* would make a good companion to the present new volume, it is so entirely different and gives the Gond village from another angle I felt very romantic after reading the *Songs* fragments of them haunt me still

O that I might die quickly and return to earth in different form  
Hungry and thirsty we break these stones in the cold of winter  
(*The Roadmender's Song*)

In all the world a village is the place for happiness,  
In every house are ploughs and bullocks  
And everyone goes farming  
When the villagers are working in the fields  
It looks like a festival

In all the world a village is the place for happiness  
(*The Place for Happiness*)

O my beloved, they are beating the drums far away in the beautiful forest  
But I cannot go with you  
The echo of that drumming resounds among the hills  
(*Drums and the Dance*)

The Gond's love of simplicity, beauty village life made me feel that they are a people of race and nobility poets at heart. In fact, I looked up to them as gods living in the jungles. Much of this glamour has been taken away in reading the second book but none of the deep interest. In the first half of the book Verrier Elwin sketches for us the tale of the Gond, it is a human and appealing story. In the fourteenth century they reigned as kings and held easy sway. Betul, Chhindwara, Mandla and Chanda came under their rule. Having no organization and no ability for war, they made no resistance to the Mughal invaders. Retiring deeper and deeper into the hills and forest, they became a jungle tribe using bows and arrows, the splendour of their reign long forgotten. The last census gave the Gond people five million and still on the increase, they may therefore rightly be considered a nation of themselves. They are certainly the oldest and most important of the aboriginal forest tribes in India. How can we best help these people? That is the question. By giving them civilization? Verrier Elwin himself is aghast at the thought. He says 'Personally I cannot imagine a civilized

Gond There are many elements in the Gond ethos which should be conserved—their simplicity and freedom, their love of children, the position of their women, their independence of spirit. . . , and he preceded this by asking, Has the primitive any message for the modern world? One feels that Verrier Elwin has not gone out to teach the Gonds, but to learn of them

After reading this introduction one feels definitely that the Gonds are much more sinned against than sinning and the author's appeal for a new spirit in the petty officials, landlords and traders, and all who have dealings with the tribes will have a ready response from all thinking people. We hear much about the need of educating the masses, of village reconstruction etc. Would it not be more to the point to educate the so-called educated to prevent them from imposing upon the poor and trading upon their ignorance? It makes one's blood boil to think that the innocence and illiteracy of these primitive peoples has been so abused. The dark shadow of *begar* is graphically described as the curse of the aboriginal's life. To quote Elwin again 'The supreme need is for a change of heart. The real problem of rural reconstruction is not material, but moral. The villages must equally experience a change of heart. A new spirit of co-operation, a new industry a new honesty would work wonders

After this introduction follows a diary of the years 1932, 1933, 1934, and 1935 the Ashram in the making. 'Written primarily to amuse,' says Verrier Elwin, and they certainly do that. The diary form is a fascinating method which enables the author to use a mass of material and not to have to unduly stress any point. Like the tiresome child after a good story, I find myself saying 'Go on what happened next?' but feel it is just as well that we are not told. Perhaps this form of writing is so successful because it leaves the reader a large share in it. Interspersed with exciting—too exciting—descriptions of happenings in the Ashram and nearby villages comes a description of the garden which the author decided to plant on November 11 1933 a few marigolds and zinnias go to join a row of seedy looking cabbages, and we feel it must often have preserved his sanity. Some pitiful sentences—Sunflower seedlings all perish from some unknown disease, Three gladiolas up and one dahlia but most of the cannas had — hurt me with the feeling that even the garden had gone against him and done him down! But this is balanced later on by the fact that when things at schools and reforms in the village look most black and despairing, the writer notes 'A magnificent bush of white roses suddenly appears,'

One perfect carnation unfolds itself with dignity, I discover an exquisite smelling sprig of mignonette. Here at least is something clean and beautiful in the midst of so much discouragement! But this reflection does not last, for, alas! I read later 'Life has become really dark, dumpy and sowre', even garden now a blaze of colour cannot dispel gloom. His love for the garden is so great that we find him crawling out of a bed of fever on his hands and knees to tie up the clarkias

Pen pictures abound, there is Panda Baba, who we know quite well, with his pleasantly ecclesiastical atmosphere and the many symbols of his sacred calling as a great magician. There is Singaru the dancer coming from the

river, on her head a polished brass vessel that shines with all the glory of the morning, and in her bearing the grace and dignity of a princess. Then see her dance. It is as the Gonds say, like the wind moving in the branches of a great tree it is the kingfisher flying above sparkling waters. In her the forest has come to fruit and flower. There is Tutta the leper, very anxious to get married, and many pictures of children who adopt the Ashram. The book is packed with material, an account of the Baigas is deeply instructive—a most romantic and interesting tribe full of magic. The ceremonies of friendships more enduring than marriage (they might easily be!), each with its proper name. Both the author and Shamrao have many of these budding friendships and tell picturesquely how they are performed. The tale that is the most entertaining of all is the questionnaire given to fifteen applicants for work in the schools. The keen wit and never-failing sense of humour of Verrier Elwin makes all this splendid reading. Who would not want to live among the Gonds? But as we have none (or few) of us his enduring courage, his high purpose and his poetic understanding of the people to sustain us. I doubt if we should endure it for a night.

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A SANSKRIT PRIMER By E D Perry Fourth edition (*Oxford University Press*) 16s 6d net

It may be noted that the standard Perry's *Sanskrit Primer* is not a new book, but has flourished ever since 1885 and many reprints have been issued. Originally it was based on Bühler's *Leitfaden*, and later Whitney's *Grammar* was utilized. It has now been reissued in an entirely new form and students and colleges will, with preference, continue to study the new form of Perry which is made as easy as is possible for an Oriental language. The exercises with vocabularies will be a great help to them.

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THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA By Vera Anstey Third edition, revised and enlarged (*Longmans*) 25s net.

A review of this very able work was given in the issue of the first edition. The third edition confirms our view of the excellence of Miss Anstey's performance. On the whole the text is very little changed save for the statistical tables having been brought up to date, and there is an additional chapter which deals with the most recent developments of the period of the depression with a revised bibliography of forty-one pages.

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THE INDIAN FEDERATION AN EXPOSITION AND CRITICAL REVIEW By Sir Shafa at Ahmad Khan Litt D (*Macmillan*) 15s net.

(Reviewed by HUGH MOLSON)

The author of this work brings great qualifications to his task. He saw from the inside most of the conferences which together evolved the scheme of the new Constitution, and ability and industry together have enabled him

to produce a book which deals comprehensively with every aspect of the government of the sub-continent. He has not confined himself to the Constitution Act, but has fitted into its framework such later documents as the Niemeyer Report and some of the Orders-in-Council. It is therefore a useful compendium of the more important documents available.

The value of the work is, however, reduced by the wideness of its scope. The sub-title indicates that the author aims at providing both an exposition and a criticism and it is difficult to combine the two. He does in practice describe how each particular feature of the scheme came to take its final form. The author shows that he could have written an excellent account of the Round Table Conferences and of the proceedings of the Joint Select Committee, but even his fair mindedness does not justify all the interpolated history. The picturesque description of Mr Churchill's oratorical duels with Mr Baldwin and Sir Samuel Hoare (pp 306-313) can only be regarded as a needless digression in a chapter dealing principally with the Indian legal features. The student of the Constitution will be constantly delayed by history, and the student of history will be as frequently obstructed by passages of legal analysis, neither will be reconciled by the high standard maintained almost throughout the book.

Sir Shafaat's general judgment on the new Constitution is interesting. In the spirit of the Moslem Delegation of which he was a distinguished member he accepts it as a workable solution to difficulties which forbid any perfect scheme but he criticizes fairly, though fairly, the features in it which he dislikes. He frankly recognizes too that a report like that of Sir Otto Niemeyer allocating sources of revenue to the centre and to the provinces must be taken or rejected as a whole and cannot be amended. He believes that the scheme can be made to work and recommends that all Indian political parties should co-operate in order that by showing their capacity to discharge the functions of government, they will ultimately reach that full measure of Home Rule which the author like most members of the *intelligentsia* both Moslem and Hindu, still desires. The present Constitution appears to him a large step forward, and the attainment of his ideal he believes to be possible only by friendly co-operation with Britain.

The introduction contains a brief sketch of events leading up to the new Constitution. It approaches the subject from an angle widely different from that of any ordinary Englishman who had to account for the same developments, but the spirit is impartial and the few facts mentioned are accurate, and so the reader obtains an Indian view which is just as tenable as that we hold. If all Indian politicians had Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan's tolerant common sense and sane judgment India's future would be assured.

#### EXCISE AND TEMPERANCE IN THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS

(Reviewed by FREDERICK GRUBB.)

The Report of the Administration of the Abkari Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government for the year 1344 Fash (1934-35 A.D.) has recently been issued. Although, like the Excise Reports of the Provincial Govern-

ments in British India, it is rather late in appearing, it contains material which should be of interest both to administrators and temperance reformers.

This report is the seventh and last to be prepared by the late Excise Commissioner, Mr S. M. Bharucha, who has administered the department with efficiency and success during that period. Even those who regard this subject from an unofficial angle will acknowledge that, whatever may have happened elsewhere, the need for public sobriety has not been subordinated to considerations of revenue in India's premier State.

Let us look at a few of the outstanding facts given in the report. During the seven years' period the number of country liquor shops has fallen from 8,896 to 5,359, and of toddy shops from 20,346 to 13,515. That is a rate of reduction which has probably not been paralleled in any other part of India.

Even from a financial standpoint it cannot be said that the results of this large decrease are unsatisfactory. Although the period was one of economic stringency, there has been no decrease in the total Abkari revenue, despite the fall in the number of shops. That revenue amounted in the year 1338 Fash (1928 A.D.) to Rs. 181 lakhs, while in the year under review it stood at the slightly enhanced figure of Rs. 187 lakhs. The curious thing is that with such a substantial reduction in the number of shops there should have been even this small increase of revenue. It must mean that individual shops are, on the average, bringing to the Government a much larger sum than was the case seven years ago. Fortunately this does not connote a corresponding rise in the amount of liquor actually consumed. As a matter of fact, the consumption of country liquor fell from 477,034 Imperial gallons (L.P.) in 1343 Fash to 450,512 in 1344. These figures do not, of course, include toddy consumption.

The settled policy of the State Government is described as one of temperance of avoiding temptation for those who do not drink and of discouraging excess in those that do. It is claimed that this policy is best realized by the application of the principle of maximum revenue from minimum consumption although in furtherance of the policy considerations of revenue are given second place.

The same principle is theoretically the basis of Excise policy and administration in the British Indian Provinces but experience has scarcely justified the claim that a large Excise revenue is compatible with a steadily diminishing consumption. It could not be so in the very nature of the case. Moreover, in the State of Hyderabad itself, despite the measures taken to curb the drink traffic, there are still nearly 20,000 liquor shops of various kinds to tempt the ignorant and unwary into the path of drunkenness. The Moslem ideal in this matter—that of complete abstinence—can hardly be absent from the mind of the enlightened Ruler who has so recently celebrated his Silver Jubilee amidst the universal plaudits of his people.

In this connection it is worthy of note that Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member of the Nizam's Government, presiding at a temperance meeting in Hyderabad City on January 13, drew attention to the fact that out of the total revenue of the State, amounting to Rs. 8½ crores, as much as one crore was derived from liquor, which meant that the population of the State spent more than five crores on drink. The Minister regretted

that, although Hinduism and Islam both prohibited drinking, this habit prevailed to such an extent in India. He appealed to the audience not only to give it up, but also to help in carrying on propaganda for the eradication of the evil.

There is no attempt in the official report of the Abkari Department to ignore the evils to which the Education Member referred. Strong drink is pre-eminently a medium for illegal trafficking in Hyderabad, as in India generally. The Director-General of Revenue in his review says that the regular trade carried on in illicitly distilled liquor must be regarded as a serious menace to the State, as it will unless energetically and successfully controlled, frustrate the carrying out of the policy sanctioned by His Exalted Highness. It is frequently urged that toddy is less harmful than country liquor, but, as Mr. Bharucha points out in Section II of his report, toddy is sold at one-seventh of country liquor price in other words when a man buys toddy he gets seven times the quantity of liquor that he can purchase for the same amount.

It is, however, encouraging to learn that the consumption of liquor in Hyderabad has gone down during the last seven years to half what it was at the beginning of that period, and that the incidence per hundred of the population in proof gallons is less than it is in the adjoining Presidency of Bombay. While this is a matter for congratulation, the fact remains that the bulk of the excise revenue is drawn from the poorer classes who are least able to spare the money they spend on drink. Even from the Government's point of view this introduces another precarious factor, for, as we read on page 6 of the Report, the administration has to guard not only against an increase in illicit distillation, but against a decrease in the purchasing power of the liquor-drinking classes. Would it not be better frankly to recognize that the traffic in strong drink adds nothing to the real wealth and prosperity of a country and that the taxable capacity of any people is in the long run diminished and not increased by such a traffic?

His Exalted Highness's Ministers cannot help being gravely concerned at the extension of the drink traffic among certain classes of the population, and, as we might expect under the jurisdiction of a devout Moslem Ruler, special measures have already been taken to combat the evil. Two years ago the State Government set apart for the first time a substantial sum of money for the organization of public propaganda against beverage alcohol, and a Central Temperance Committee was appointed to ascertain and adopt the best methods for promoting total abstinence. This Committee is an influential body representing all communities the Chairman being Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, Chief Justice of the State. His colleagues include two leading Hindus, the Deputy Chief Engineer (an Indian Christian) and the head of the Methodist Mission, Secunderabad. The Chairman came to England last year to inquire into the methods of work which kindred organizations have found most effective in this country and since his return to Hyderabad a vigorous campaign has been inaugurated against the drinking of intoxicants. The official report of the Abkari Department acknowledges the Propaganda Committee's good work, from which, it says, increasing advantage and material benefit may confidently be expected."

Voluntary organizations are also doing admirable preventive work in the State. Prominent among these is the Secunderabad Temperance Association, which, under the patronage of the British Resident and thanks to the magnificent generosity of Sir Bansal Motilal and other wealthy supporters, has been enabled to establish a model village known as Bansalpet from which the sale of liquor is rigidly excluded. This fine piece of constructive work involved the clearance of a congested slum area and the rehousing of its 2,000 inhabitants in 500 rat proof houses, the occupants of which enjoy conditions of comfort and cleanliness to which they were previously complete strangers.

The disinterested workers who are promoting this enterprise soon discovered that many of the social evils specially affecting the poorer classes are traceable, directly or indirectly, to an unhealthy environment, aggravated by the demoralizing allurements of the liquor shop. In planning for a reformed community which should be free from such evils, the Secunderabad pioneers designed their new village on broad and enlightened principles, the results of which are now beginning to be seen. Well-built airy houses, elementary schools, spacious streets, healthy entertainments and well equipped playgrounds, with no drink shop to spoil the picture—these are some of the features of an undertaking which points the way to a new era of economic, industrial, and moral progress. This excellent experiment in social reconstruction will be watched with interest by reformers everywhere.

Hyderabad is sometimes regarded as a backward State, but one rises from the study of its Abkari Report and the examination of such new departures as the one noted above with the conviction that the Government and people of the Nizam's Dominions are fully aware of the danger inherent in the common sale of strong drink and are determined to adopt every practicable measure to reduce it to a minimum.

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### INDIA'S OVERSEAS MARKETS

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER DURING 1935/36

By Dr. D. B. Meek, C.I.E., O.B.E., D.Sc. (London) 3s. 7d.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONER, HAMBURG, DURING 1935/36 By S. N. Gupta, C.I.E., I.C.S. (London) 5s. 9d.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONER, MILAN, DURING 1935/36 By M. K. Ahuja. (London) 3s. 3d.

(Reviewed by M. C. B. Sayer)

Above all things, good policy is to be used, that the treasure and moneys in a state be not gathered into a few hands. For otherwise a state may have great stock and yet starve. And money is like muck, not good except it be spread." If among treasure and moneys we include, as we must, agricultural and mineral products, the words of Francis Bacon ring as true now as the day they were written, over three hundred years ago.



In India, more than, perhaps, any other part of the British Empire, there is a great opportunity for economic planning to increase the material wealth of the people but all such efforts will be deprived of half their value unless they also secure the proper distribution of the country's surplus products. The man who finds markets capable of absorbing India's exports, consisting largely of raw materials and semi-manufactures, at economic prices, is as great a public benefactor as the scientist who increases the productivity of the soil itself.

It is often contended by Indian economists and politicians that British commentators are apt to exaggerate both the importance of foreign trade, and India's dependence upon it. It may be true that the commodities exported represent only a fraction—not more, perhaps, than 15 per cent.—of India's agricultural production, and that if India developed her own industries she could achieve something like a self-contained economy and become comparatively independent of overseas markets. That was, fortunately, not the view of those who sent the first Indian Trade Commissioner to Europe. And it is significant that the demand for the extension of the Service, which led to the opening up of branch offices, first in Hamburg and then in Milan, received the enthusiastic support of some of the most perfervid exponents of economic nationalism.

The fact is that since the war India has become caught up in the maelstrom of international trade. She cannot detach herself from this world organism without a serious economic disaster to masses of her people and, what is of more immediate consequence, her own internal economy has, meanwhile, become vulnerable to developments in the rest of the world over which neither the Indian National Congress nor the British Government has any control, but which, by vitally affecting demand for India's products, may spell ruin to large sections of her people.

That India needs to find outlets for huge exportable surpluses of jute, jute products, cotton, oilseeds, tea, and, if we still include Burma, rice, is a commonplace to every schoolboy. She cannot absorb these surpluses herself, and, if she could not sell them abroad, the millions of cultivators that have now specialized on their production could not turn over to alternative products which would enable them to support life on anything like their present standard—low though that may be.

In the aggregate the export trade, admittedly, only covers a fraction of the country's total production and even in 1935/36, to the extent of nearly one-third was with the United Kingdom. The catastrophic fall in prices during the past seven years, although India has fared more fortunately in this respect than many other primary producing countries, has shown conclusively that it is the character, not the volume, of the trade which matters most. India's sales to European buyers, though comparatively small, represent just that margin of purchasing power which makes all the difference to the general body of cultivators, while in special areas which concentrate on growing crops like cotton, jute and tea, the loss of export markets," as a former Finance Member has said, "would mean the destruction of the bulk of the peoples livelihood."

One need not be unduly pessimistic, or fail to recognize that the present

depression is in many ways abnormal—expectations of some recovery have already been realized—to face the fact that the task of the Indian Government Trade Commissioners is not an easy one. In many directions State intervention has been little short of disastrous to world trade, especially on the Continent. It began with post war inflation. It proceeded with high tariffs and dumping, from which emerged the quota system for restricting imports, and then the control of foreign exchanges, which leaves the foreign exporter free to sell to a country but successfully prevents him from getting any payments for what he sells and barter arrangements. And other factors are at work which unless they are counteracted in some way which cannot at present be foreseen may alter the whole process of expansion of trade in primary products, especially foodstuffs.

To these highly debatable questions of abstract economic theory aggravated in the case of India by doctrinaire nationalist sentiment, the authors of these three admirably compiled and written reports do not venture to propound their own answers, but the whole tenor of their instructive introductory remarks is that the immediate task is the closer approximation of the theoretical and practical points of view. They themselves attempt to hold the scales evenly between theory and practice by pointing out the real difficulties involved in the theoretical solution of post war European commercial and currency problems. Therein, apart from the restrictions imposed by their official positions, they are undoubtedly wise for, however strong the practical considerations which weigh in favour of acting with the Indian nationalist politicians while thinking with the more realistic business men, the events of the past few years have been sufficiently startling to show that the practice of even the pre-Ottawa period is no longer applicable in its entirety to the changed circumstances of the world of 1937.

During the next few months Indian and British merchants and industrialists will be actively engaged in hammering out the details of a new Indo-British trade pact to supersede the Ottawa agreements. We can imagine no better corrective to hasty generalizations, or surer guide to informed judgment of the real issues involved so far as concerns at least what India has to offer, than a careful study of the facts and figures so readily accessible in these three small volumes.

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## HYDERABAD AND ITS INDUSTRIES

ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES DEPARTMENT OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS FOR 1344 FASLI (OCTOBER 6, 1934, TO OCTOBER 6 1935 A.D.). (Hyderabad, Deccan Government Central Press)

(Reviewed by M. C. B. SAYER)

The Silver Jubilee of the Nizam of Hyderabad, postponed from a year ago on account of the death of King George V, was celebrated throughout the Dominions last month with traditional pomp and ceremony and every manifestation of popular affection for a far sighted and deservedly respected

**Ruler** It is characteristic of His Exalted Highness that, at his express wish, the bulk of the funds raised by private subscription in commemoration of the auspicious occasion should be devoted so far as possible not to display and pageantry alone, but to philanthropic and public utility purposes, and that a feature of the celebrations was an Industrial Exhibition in which the several departments exhibited appropriate tokens of the progress attained during the last twenty five years.

The industrial field affords, in fact, perhaps the most striking example of the rapid material and moral advancement which has brought Hyderabad within so relatively short a period into the forefront of Indian States. This is, indeed, hardly surprising, for the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions has displayed, especially of recent years an enthusiasm and skill in the exploitation of the State's natural resources, including the resuscitation of the ancient arts and crafts, for which history affords few parallels.

If a large share of the credit for the State's remarkable progress belongs to the Nizam himself, Mir Sir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur like his father, is a good judge of men, and has been fortunate in his Ministers, and especially his Finance Member, to whose invaluable services both in that capacity and also, latterly, in the conduct of external affairs His Exalted Highness recently paid a signal tribute Sir Akbar Hydari who has lately been appointed President of the State Executive Council in succession to Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad is an enthusiast, and it is largely owing to his foresight and administrative genius that Hyderabad stands where it does today.

The outstanding success of the contract system of budgeting or the departmentalization of the finances which he introduced seventeen years ago has enabled the State to take the initiative in the establishment of many industries large and small, as well as the revival of more ancient ones, without recourse to extra taxation—income tax is still unknown.

The Industrial Reserve, built up out of a portion of the accumulated surpluses of past years, now amounts to one crore of rupees (£750,000). The corpus of the fund is used for subsidizing large-scale enterprises like the coal and gold mines, textile mills and the Shahabad Cement Company and the new Nizam Sugar Factory while the income from the fund's investments is utilized in financing cottage industries industrial surveys industrial training, scholarships, etc.

The annual report of the Commerce and Industries Department for 1344 Fasli (1934/35), notwithstanding its somewhat belated appearance is an instructive document. This comprehensive survey of the conditions of trade and industry in the Dominions during the period under review has been considerably enlarged and is particularly interesting for the account of the efforts which are being made, with considerable success, to revive the former beauty of Warangal carpets, which won the first prize at the great Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, and of Warangal muslin, which was praised as far back as the thirteenth century by Marco Polo. Parallel efforts are being made to improve the now famous products of the indigenous cloth industries which have flourished since ancient times in Aurangabad.

Another old industry—paper making—dating back to the days of the Moghuls, has also been revived. This hand-made paper, the texture of

which resembles that of parchment, is now extensively used for State documents and even Christmas and Id cards. While cottage industries are being increasingly adapted to the supply of modern requirements, every care is taken, wisely, to preserve, so far as design and motif are concerned, the heritage of old artistic inspiration. Thus one may buy a modern ash tray in old Bidri ware, but the design will be classic in form.

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## PERIODICALS

### LA QUINZAINE COLONIALE

*La Quinzaine Coloniale*, the organ of the French Colonial Union in Paris, publishes in its issue of February 10 a leading article by Mr C. A. Le Neveu on recent Government announcements of colonial policy. He discusses the view expressed recently that France had reached the point when there would, as in Great Britain, be two great parties—the one in power, and the opposition. In Mr Le Neveu's view that would be a great service to France, but it had to be remembered that in Great Britain the official kept himself outside political controversy and could carry on his duties without the necessity of pleasing the politicians of the moment. He could do so because a politician would consider it dishonourable to intervene in any way in the promotion or the administrative career of any Civil Servant. In France it would be interesting to observe the attitude of officials, who behaved as partisans under the two-party system, on the day when the opposition came into power. And Mr Le Neveu adds that if the administrative services placed politics before their calling the result would be the American system under which the two-party system is conducted on the strictest lines, but where the so-called responsible officials retire at each change of Government. If that were the wish of French officials let them say so, but if, on the contrary, they wanted to maintain the stability and the fine traditions of the French administration let them confine themselves to *serving* (in the noble sense of the word) the general interests of the country above party and above even the political trend of events.

The same issue discusses the proposed control of free labour, as distinct from that which is under contract, and tariff questions.

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GEORGICA Vol. I Nos 2 and 3 (*The Georgian Historical Society*) £1 10s net.

The new issue of this scholarly journal contains a varied selection of articles which should attract a wider circle than the title would suggest. Mr J. F. Baddeley writes on the Rising of 1877 in Daghestan and Tchetchina, the Archimandrite, Dr Gregory Peradze, treats the interesting question of Georgian influences on the Cultures of the Balkan Peoples, Mr Alexander Yavakhushvili examines the question of the Caucasian Race. There are also archaeological, artistic and literary articles, and book reviews by recognized authorities.

## WARREN HASTINGS AND MADRAS

BY SIR H. VERNY LOVETT, K.C.S.I.

AMONG the many obligations under which Professor Dodwell has laid students of British Indian history his researches into conditions in Madras in the days of Warren Hastings and the writings in which he has expressed his conclusions are conspicuous. Biographers and historians have, as a rule, concentrated their attention on the remarkable events which formed the main groundwork for the impeachment of Hastings and have inclined, possibly because they were somewhat exhausted by their labours in those directions, to give inadequate consideration to his policy regarding Madras affairs. But in Chapter XV of *CHI*, Vol. V, we have a full, clear and interesting narrative which illumines this subject, and in Professor Dodwell's *Warren Hastings-Macpherson Letters* and his article on 'Warren Hastings and the Carnatic,' *E.H.R.*, July, 1925, we have further historical material. We see that the short interval of rather over two years which Hastings spent as Member of Council and Keeper of the export warehouse at Madras influenced his actions in certain crises later on. "Everybody," says Sir Frederick Keeble, "is a time-palimpsest", and however often the parchment may be written on, in each case the old impressions remain and show through, blending, perhaps strangely, with later writings. So it was with Warren Hastings.

When, after fourteen years of Bengal, Hastings embarked for England on December 20, 1764, with Governor Vansittart, by whom he had loyally stood through great trials, he was deeply impressed with the evils of British military supremacy uncontrolled by regard for the welfare of a people nominally subject to an Indian ruler. With the latest victim of such a régime in Bengal, driven to revolt by the greed for gain of the Company's servants, he had strong sympathy, and he had done his utmost to avert the final catastrophe. All this was known at Leadenhall Street, but owing to cliques and opposition in the India House, when he sought re-employment he did not obtain it until he had been described by a friend as "literally worth nothing" and in want of bread unless he returned to India.\* Then tardy reparation was made, and on March 23, 1769, he sailed for Madras as Member of Council, commended to Governor Josias Dupré as a man of "great ability and unblemished character." It was on this voyage that he met the lady who was to be his main support

\* Mervyn Davies, p. 61

to the end of his life under trials such as have fallen to few of the sons of men

Conditions in Madras differed widely from those with which he had been so familiar in Bengal, although there were some points of resemblance. The servants of the Company in the southern Presidency were not grasping at and grossly abusing trade privileges, and the Nawab of the Karnatak, Mahammed Ali Walajah, although not living at his capital, Arcot, but in a palace adjacent to the principal British settlement, not only governed his dominions, but held a lease for collecting revenue from the Company's 'jagir' concession, which consisted of small territories round Madras and Cuddalore. But he owed a large sum of money to the Company for his share of expenses incurred in the war against the French and a much larger sum to private creditors, including English civil servants, and even many members of the Governor's Council,\* who had discovered that lending money to the ruler of the province at high rates of interest was the shortest road to fortune. The loans were secured by "assignments"—mortgages on the revenues of the various districts which were collected by the Nawab's officials.

Prominent among the assignees was Paul Benfield, who had in 1764 arrived in Madras as an architect and surveyor, and beginning as a partner of an Indian banker and merchant, had got on by contracting and by lending money at usurious rates of interest. He had also made himself useful to Walajah, who owed his position entirely to the success of the Company's arms in the war with the French, but cherished wide ambitions since he had become aware that, in spite of his minor status in the now nominal empire, he had been recognized as "lawful Nabob" of the Karnatak by the Treaty of Paris (1763). He had sought counsel with John Macpherson, the son of a Scotch minister who had reached Madras in 1768 as purser of a merchant ship, and apparently suggested to his patron that a way to a higher position might be found through sending him back to London as an envoy to the ministry there from an ally formally recognized by agreement between London and Paris. Macpherson went, was received by the Prime Minister† and returned to India as a servant of the Company. About the same time a royal squadron left for Indian waters under Commodore Lindsay, who had been invested with political powers and encouraged the Nawab to look to him for support against the Presidency Government, deputing his secretary to sit in Walajah's durbar. In Hastings' words, the Nawab was assured of the protection of the Crown and Board of Directors

\* Hastings to Colebrooke (Glegg, I, p. 197).

† For an instructive description of this interview, see Forrest's *Cornwallis*, I, pp. 3-4.

against the Government of Fort St. George. Small wonder that controlling largely the savings of the Settlement and supported by his creditors and a Scotch section of society, who were politically inclined and "unconquerably averse to those who had more power than themselves," he intrigued in all directions and studied "by every artifice" to draw the servants of the Company into his measures, with the single object of establishing "his own independency on the ruin of the Company's and the national influence"\*. In a report to the Madras Council, Hastings had before writing these words emphasized the miserable condition of the weavers in the "jagir" and the even worse plight of those who lived outside it.† After his departure interference from the Commodore ceased, and his secretary's seat in the Nawab's durbar was occupied by Benfield.

The civil servants in Madras were not judges or district officers, but clerks, merchants and contractors who often worked through interpreters. Their general aim was to make money and return home as soon as they could. The strain of the climate, unrelieved by visits to the hills, or the outdoor games of later times, must have been intense. There were no proper roads, medical and sanitary science was little understood and mortality was heavy, there was little or none of the human interest that came with administrative work later on, life and property were menaced by lawless conditions and Maratha or Mysore raids and invasions. "Those who have seen, as I did," wrote Hastings in 1785, "in a time of profound peace the wretched inhabitants of the Carnatic, of every age, sex and condition, tumultuously thronging round the walls of Fort St. George, and lying for many successive days and nights on the burning soil, without covering or food, on a casual rumour falsely excited, of an approaching enemy, will feelingly attest the truth of the contrast which I have drawn," etc.‡ For bordering on the Karnatak was the powerful state of Mysore under the martial Haider Ali, and not far off were the forces of the Nizam and the freebooting Marathas.

Hastings' time in Madras was short, but he did good service as keeper of the export warehouse. His letters show that he correctly gauged the character and ambitions of the Nawab, who was, he said, 'entertaining a rage for the Marathas,' and showing 'a favourable disposition towards the French.' Hastings appreciated the dangers of the situation, but was not then in a position to combat them. He appears to have been popular in European society and to have got on well with the Nawab, who corre-

\* Hastings to Laurence Sullivan (Glegg, I, 184)

† Miss Monckton Jones, *Hastings in Bengal*, p. 110

‡ Forrest's Selections from State Papers—Warren Hastings, II, 66. Compare, too, Barrow's *Life of Earl Macartney*, I, 133 (1807).

sponded with him afterwards. He began a friendship with Macpherson, whose pleasant manners he appreciated, and he must have become acquainted with Benfield. Association with these three men and their surroundings did him no good. On February 2, 1772, he left for Calcutta on promotion. After two and a half strenuous years as Governor of Bengal, he became Governor General under the limitations of the Regulating Act.

In his valuable book *The Central Authority in British India, 1774-84*,\* Professor Das Gupta quotes the words in which Lord North introduced this piece of legislation. "There is one alteration," said the Prime Minister, "which seems to be of great necessity for the Company, that there must be *some*† superiority lodged in one of their Presidents in India *in certain cases* over the others." The power therefore of commencing hostilities and making treaties with Indian princes would be "most properly lodged in Bengal, the great and important seat of the English power in India." Lord Clive, however, pointed out that during a great part of the year the three presidencies were cut off from each other by "a distance of two months" and might not be always able to wait for orders from Bengal, also that if the President of Bengal had in the past been compelled to wait for orders from the Court of Directors "we should not have at this time one foot of ground in the East Indies." It was finally enacted by Section IX of the Act that the proposed power of control should be exercised by "the Governor-General and Council *or the major part of them*" except in cases of such imminent necessity as Clive had indicated and except in cases where Madras or Bombay had already received special orders from home. Any President and Council who offended against this section would be liable to suspension from office by order of the new Central Government. The Presidents and Councils of Madras and Bombay were to pay due obedience to orders received from Calcutta *in the above connections*. They were also to inform the Governor-General-in-Council of "all transactions and matters relating to the government, revenues or interests" of the Company. Professor Gupta's criticisms of Section IX are just, but it was exceedingly difficult to give practical weight to Clive's reasonable arguments. After the passage of the Act the Directors instructed the new Governor-General and Council to fix their attention on "the preservation of peace throughout India" and on "the security of the possessions and revenues of the Company." Thus the tendency was to fix on them big responsibilities and simultaneously to circumscribe their means of discharging those

\* Calcutta University Press. The author is Prof. D. London. I have found his work very helpful.

† The italics are mine.



responsibilities Madras and Bombay, on the other hand, who if war or grave trouble broke out fell back on Bengal for military and financial support, were naturally disposed to assert the large degree of independence which was still legally theirs. Bearing in mind these matters, we will turn to two crises in Madras in both of which Walajah took part.

The course of the Pigot episode (*CHI*, V, c XV) is illustrated by some correspondence in the Hastings letters to Macpherson and by quotations from letters and minutes in Professor Das Gupta's book. News that a majority of the Madras Councillors, including the local Commander-in-Chief, had ordered the arrest of their President, Lord Pigot, and had placed him in military confinement reached Calcutta in September, 1776, when the death of Monson was giving Hastings control of his Council. But he still felt insecure, and apprehended recall and the promotion of his bitterest adversary "from a decimal into the integer." Francis would then run mad and half the people with him.\* Both Pigot and his jailors appealed to Calcutta, and their quarrel was fully debated by the Governor-General's Council, where it was unanimously decided to refer the issues to the Directors for orders. The Madras Councillors also consulted Calcutta about the disposal of their Governor, suggesting that he should be removed to England, but evidently wishing to avoid the responsibility of this step. "The matter," they wrote, "might affect the peace of the Carnatic, which the controlling powers vested in you by the late Act of Parliament were intended to preserve." The Central Government politely declined the suggested responsibility, but the proposed measure might be adopted if the Madras Government thought fit† Macpherson had privately informed Hastings that Pigot and his friends hoped to regain power with the assistance of the troops, and that Fletcher, Commander-in-Chief, was "beginning to be troublesome"‡ Pigot was not sent home, apparently because the temporary Government feared that his removal would provoke a violent outbreak. He died in May, 1777, while still under restraint. The attitude of the Central Government was doubtless influenced by a prudent desire to avoid the pitfalls of the Regulating Act and any responsibility for possible riots in Madras, but it was not impressive. Hastings' minutes and letters to Macpherson show that he was probably influenced by correspondence directly or indirectly from Nawab Walajah, who with Benfield had been deeply involved in the conspiracy which had brought about the crash, even

\* Letter to Stewart in *Bengal, Past and Present*, quoted by Mervyn Davies, p. 224.

† Das Gupta, p. 42.

‡ Hastings-Macpherson Correspondence, p. 50.

if they were not its originators. Pigot unfortunately endeavoured to suspend colleagues who were obstructing orders from the Directors for the restoration of Tanjore to its Raja, with which the Central Government had been asked to co-operate if required. He thus exceeded his constitutional powers. But even so, in his present plight he certainly merited active sympathy from headquarters and particularly from the Governor-General, who alone there knew Madras. He does not seem to have received sympathy of any kind from Calcutta. Early in 1777 Macpherson, who had properly been dismissed by the Pigot Government for disloyalty,\* and was going to England in order to appeal against the sentence and champion the Nawab's claim to Tanjore, offered his services as an agent to Hastings, and his offer was accepted. He was well supplied with cash, and allied himself with Benfield, who had been recalled by the Directors in 1777 for the part he had played in the anti Pigot conspiracy† and was possessed of wealth which he partly employed in buying seats in Parliament. The pair were elected to the House of Commons, and the influence which they were able to exercise on the Ministry is described by Professor Dodwell. When Macpherson, who had procured his reinstatement in the Civil Service,‡ returned to India in 1781 he came as Member of the Governor-General's Council. His appointment was unique, for never before or since has a Member of that exalted body enjoyed the double distinction of dismissal from the Civil Service and unseating from the House of Commons for bribery.§ It was welcomed by Hastings, whose enthusiasm soon cooled when he discovered what he might well have suspected before, that his new colleague's principal objective was personal advancement accompanied no doubt by distrust of the wisdom of parts of the Governor-General's policy. In more cases than one he was right, for Hastings was suffering from years of strain. It is noteworthy that Benfield, who was also reinstated and permitted to return to India after undergoing trial for bribery, had on February 1, 1781, expressed to Hastings through a third party his extreme anxiety to be united with him "in political friendship," in which he would "make a fair exchange of his force and influence here for your favour and protection in India."¶

The circumstances in which the Central Government on February 26, 1781, directed Madras to demand from Nawab Walajah the immediate transfer of the Karnatak in exclusive assignment for the expenses of the war with Haider Ali, the deputation of

\* See Forrest & Cornwallis, p. 5.

† He was reinstated and afterwards permitted to return to Madras.

‡ For details, see Forrest, pp. 5-6.

§ In 1780, not, as wrongly stated by the D.N.B., in 1788.

¶ Introduction to Hastings-Macpherson Correspondence, p. xxiii.

Eyre Coote to the southern Presidency in 1780 with men, money and extraordinary powers, the arrival there of Lord Macartney, a Governor of a refreshingly novel type, his differences with Coote and Hastings have been fully described by Professor Dodwell, who tells us that twice Hastings, if unrestrained by his Councillors, would have suspended Macartney, once when the latter opposed his wish to restore the Karnatak to the rule of the importunate Walajah while it was still largely in the clutches of Haidar Ali, and again when the Governor-General was dissatisfied with Macartney's negotiation of the treaty of Mangalore. I am in full agreement with Professor Dodwell's view that in both instances Macartney acted conscientiously and reasonably. On page 292 *CH.I*, V, Professor Dodwell observes that the reasons for Hastings' change of front regarding the assignment "remain obscure, but were almost certainly connected with the necessity under which he thought he lay of preserving the support of Benfield's friends in London." Here again I agree. It may be that Hastings persuaded himself that his motives were justifiable. No doubt they ran into one another. But his conscience was ill at ease even while he insisted on trying to suspend Macartney,\* until brought up sharp by inability to carry his colleagues with him. There is reason to suppose that his obstinacy in backing to such extremities the Nawab's desire for immediate reinstatement proceeded not only from hostility to Macartney artfully inflamed by Walajah†, but also from deference to those Madras influences which had obscured his sense of right in the Pigot case. Moreover, he still believed in Benfield's capacity to command votes in the House of Commons and Court of Directors, he was constantly assailed by venomous and unscrupulous enemies in London, he was worn by many conflicts, and with all his great qualities he was human and could sometimes blunder badly. No one knew this better than himself. On the occasion of his impeachment he justly pleaded: "Not only my actions but my words, and even my imputed thoughts, as at the final day of judgment, are converted against me. And from whom is this state of perfection exacted? From a man who was separated, while yet a schoolboy, from his native country, and from every advantage of that instruction which might have better qualified him for the high office and arduous situations which it became his lot to fill." What sustained him throughout his trials was his consciousness of the integrity of his main purposes.

\* Hastings-Macpherson Correspondence, p. 179

† Barrow's *Macartney* (1807), I, 293

## THE INDIAN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

BY AN OBSERVER

THE tremendous vigour with which the Indian National Congress Party worked up the constituencies in their favour in the Provincial elections and the sweeping victories which they gained have made the contest and its results the most remarkable illustration which India has yet provided of the adaptability of its people to electioneering on the Western democratic model. The Congress Party has often been described as the only organized political party in India. Other parties have now had a shattering example of their own neglect to organize in their own behalf. Yet, as we shall presently see, the result is not merely the effect of superior organization.

To point to the energy with which the Congress Party fought their battles in the different Provinces one may well cite the fury of activity in which Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, as President of the Congress, engaged. It is calculated that in 130 touring days he travelled some 25,000 miles by rail, 22,000 miles by road, chiefly by car, and 1,600 miles by air, making together 48,600 miles. It is estimated that he addressed not fewer than 10,000,000 people. Loud-speaker vans or local loud-speaker arrangements were almost always provided for him. The size of his meetings was very remarkable. Some are alleged to have numbered well over 100,000 people. His organizers declare that a meeting of 5,000 to 10,000 was regarded as small. Villagers crowded in to see him and hear him. A notable feature of the meetings, especially in Maharashtra and Southern India, was the large number of women attending them. Often, it is said, women formed one-quarter of the audience. Addresses were presented by Municipalities, District Boards, Merchants', Traders', Women's, Students', Peasants', and Workers' associations, as well as by Congress Committees.

The Pundit's speeches are aptly summarized by his private secretary, who in a newspaper article on the subject asks what was his message and answers that it was "Fight for Indian freedom, to remove poverty, unemployment, social, cultural, and political degradation. Build the Congress up into a mighty army of the entire Indian people struggling against Imperialism for life and culture and for the establishment of Panchayat raj." From which it will be seen that Imperialism is represented as the source of practically every ill and hardship from which the people suffer and that to vote for Congress was commended as for a patent medicine which will surely cure all troubles.

Here is a statistical analysis of the election results in the different Provinces, accurate as far as party alignments can be ascertained

## THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

ASSAM		BOMBAY	
Congress Hindus	35	Congress	88
Independent Hindus	10	Moslem League	20
United People's Party Hindus	3	Independent Moslems	10
Assam Valley Moslem Party	5	Independents General	22
Surma Valley Moslem Party	5	Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Christians	8
Moslem League	9	Independent Labour Party	12
Independent Moslems	14	Non-Brahmins	8
Proja Party	1	Democratic Swaraj Party	5
Europeans	9	Peasants Party	2
Indian Christians	1		
Women's Independent	1	Total	175
Backward Tribal	4		
Backward Areas Hills	5		
Indian Planting	2		
Labour	4		
Total	108		
ORISSA		CENTRAL PROVINCES	
Congress	36	Congress	71
Independents	11	Moslems	14
United Party	5	Non Brahmins	3
National Party	4	Ambedkarites	4
Nominated	4	Nationalists	2
Total	60	Raja Party	1
		Europeans	1
		Anglo-Indians	1
		Hindu Sabha	1
		Independents	14
		Total	112
BIHAR		BENGAL	
Congress	95	Congress (including 1 Independent Congress and 2 women, 44, Scheduled Caste Congress 7, Labour Congress, 4)	55
No Party	27	Independent Moslem	42
Independent Moslems	15	Proja (Tenants) Party	40
United Moslem Party	6	Moslem League (including 2 women)	39
Europeans	4	Europeans	25
Constitutional	2	Independent Scheduled Caste	23
Anglo-Indian	1	Independent Caste Hindus	15
Indian Christian	1	Anglo-Indians (including 1 woman)	4
Loyalist	1	Hindu Nationalists	3
Total	152	Hindu Sabha	2
		Indian Christians	2
		Total	250
N.W.F.P.			
No Party Moslems	21		
Congress	19		
Hindu-Sikh Nationalists	7		
Moslem Independents	2		
No Party Hindu	1		
Total	50		

# The Indian Provincial Elections

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MADRAS		SIND.	
Congress	159	Sind United	18
Justice Party	16	Congress	8
People's Party	1	Hindu Sabha	11
Moslem League	10	Arzad Party	3
Moslem Progressives	1	Sind Moslem Party	4
Non-Party Moslems	8	Hindu Independents	2
Europeans	7	Moslem Independents	9
Indian Commerce	1	Labour Independents	1
Anglo-Indians	2	No Party	4
Others	10		—
Total	215	Total	60

PUNJAB		UNITED PROVINCES	
Unionists	99	Congress	133
Congress	18	Independent Moslems	29
Alahi Congress	11	Muslim League	27
Khalsa Nationalist Party	13	National Agriculturist Party	18
Hindu Election Board	12	Independent Hindus	9
Ahrars	2	Landholders	6
Muslim League	1	Europeans	3
Congress Nationalist	1	Indian Christians	2
Itmihad-i Millat	2	Anglo-Indians	1
Independents	16	Hindu Sabha	0
Total	175	Total	228

## THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

MADRAS		ASSAM	
Congress	27	Moderates	10
Justice Party	4	Muslim Independents	6
People's Party	0	Europeans	18
Hindu Independents	5	To be Nominated	3
Muslim League	2		—
Independent Muslims	4	Total	37
Europeans	1		
Indian Christians (Ind)	3	CENTRAL PROVINCES	
To be Nominated	8	Independent Hindus	14
Total	54	Independent Muslims	7
		Congress	2
		National Agriculturist Party	2
		Europeans	1
		Total	26

BIHAR		UNITED PROVINCES	
Hindu Independents	9	Independent Hindus	21
Muslim Independents	2	Independent Muslims	14
Muslim United Party	1	Congress	7
Europeans	1	National Agriculturist Party	4
No Party	1	Europeans	6
To be elected by Assembly	12	To be Nominated	8
To be Nominated	3		—
Total	29	Total	60

BENGAL		BOMBAY	
Independent Muslims	13	Congress	13
Independent Caste Hindus	5	Independents	7
Muslim League	4	Muslim League	2
Congress	3	Democratic Swaraj Party	2
Europeans	3	Liberals	1
Hindu Nationalists	1	Europeans	1
Hindu Sabha	1	To be Nominated	4
For Election and Nomination	33		—
Total	63	Total	30

The first point one notices about these results is that they represent in effect different sections of one All India election, rather than a series of elections in different Provinces. This arises from two factors. The first is the necessity of holding the elections in all the Provinces at about the same time. To do so was inevitable, in view of the inauguration of the new Provincial Constitution on April 1. When the Constitutions have been working for a while, the defeat of individual ministries will tend to precipitate elections in different Provinces at different times. The other factor giving the elections an All-India aspect is that the Congress Party is an All India organization and in its policy and propaganda takes no notice of Provincial affairs as such.

The new Provincial Legislatures will all approach their duties with the general policy prescribed for them by the All-India Congress Working Committee in their minds. Indications at present are that they will not refuse to take their seats in their different Legislatures. How, after getting there, they will react to Provincial problems we have yet to see, but for the most part they will come newly to the business of handling them. It was lately announced that the choice of site for the capital of the new Province of Orissa would be left to the first local ministry under the new Constitution. This, if anything, might have been calculated to cause the liveliest discussion in the election campaign. It appears not to have figured in it at all. The disregard of it was typical. An oft enunciated principle is that the candidate and the elected member should accept the creed enunciated by the All-India Congress Working Committee and pledge himself to obey the Committee's orders. Such qualifications as understanding local problems, or for that matter any other problem, is of secondary importance or none. The rout of a large number of non-Congressmen who have real understanding of public affairs merely emphasizes the point.

The first item in the policy, or programme, of the Congress Working Committee is the wrecking of the new Constitution. This includes both the smashing of the new Provincial Constitutions and the prevention of the materialization of the Federal Con-

stitution. In parallel with this, is placed the achievement of complete independence. Mr. Gandhi, in a pronouncement in the midst of the election campaign, stated "So far as I am concerned, if Dominion Status were offered in terms of the Statute of Westminster, that is, with the right to secede at will, I would unhesitatingly accept it." Some people have joyfully hailed this as an indication that the demand for independence must not be taken literally. But there can be no reasonable doubt about what is meant. The aim is to escape completely from the irksomeness of British control, from the conservatism inherent in the British connection. The ordinary elector knew nothing about the Statute of Westminster when he voted for the Congress candidate.

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru has never made any bones about why he wants freedom. What he desires is the overturn of landlordism and capitalism. What he wants is Socialism, and his Socialism is undistinguishable from Communism. Neither he nor other Congress Party managers have ever denied that if the party members entered the Legislatures they should go there to utilize their positions for the assistance of the party's main work, which lies, they say, outside the Legislatures and in the villages. The aim in the villages is to rouse the peasant masses in order to increase the power of the Congress Executive in its fight with Government. Arguments about Dominion Status, the Statute of Westminster and even the Communal Question are treated as matters of no real import compared with this prime objective and the economic and social revolution which it involves.

Before forming an opinion of what the Congressmen are likely to do with the power which the constituencies and the new Constitution have placed in their hands, one needs to study why the electors have given them such sweeping victories at the polls—victories which could not have been secured unless Congress Party candidates had been supported by vast numbers of people whom we did not ordinarily regard as Congressmen at all. That the Congress vote included many people nominally belonging to other parties and large numbers of people who cannot possibly hold the extreme doctrines in which the Congress President and his friends openly believe is no secret. The Congress Party managers have roped in these other voters by organizing what they call "the United Front."

Why have people whose interests and ideals are far different from those of the Congress Party and its plentifully advertised policy voted for a Congress Party raj? I put this question, the other day, to a prominent Hindu business man of Bombay who was expressing his pleasure at the progress which the Congressmen were making at the polls. People like himself, he said, supported Congress because it was the only organized party which



really wanted to bring about reforms. He hoped that they would take office and carry out their programme or compel the Governors again and again to exercise the veto. And what, one asked, was the good of doing that if people like himself approved of the Governor exercising the veto in the particular cases which necessitated it? Thereupon my friend said what an excellent Governor his Province had. He further comforted himself with the assurance that as regards the more extreme measures of economic and social revolution which the Congress proposed, "it will take time before they reach that stage."

There was another Indian whom one questioned. He is a lawyer. Congress in the sub-Province to which he belongs have swept the board. One asked him why. "Because they are anti-British," he said. The reason he advanced for this sentiment was that the British officials about the countryside were not so friendly with the people as they formerly were. "But there are no British officials in your part of India, are there?" one asked. He admitted that there had been none for about 14 years, as the higher appointments there had all been Indianized. "And what were the Congress election slogans in your part?" one asked. "Down with the landlords!" was, he said, their chief cry and by that they meant expropriation. When, he added, the Congress bade people who wanted freedom to vote for them, that was what they were thinking of. And then he broke off and pointed out that "the Sanatanists, which used to be very strong in our part, are absolutely nowhere."

One recalls still a third informant. A Hindu, member of the Servants of India Society, working in close touch with the Indian working classes in all parts of India, he is also a much travelled man of the world. Said he, "Why is everybody voting Congress?—because they dislike the British. Why do they dislike the British?—because the country wants things done and the British Government, with their tolerance and non-interference, block changes, such changes as social reforms." The Congress have subtly told the people that radical changes are necessary to improve their condition, that the British oppose changes of all kinds because they want to "exploit the people," and that therefore it is only by first getting rid of the British that they can hope to improve their conditions of life. When they say that the British oppose reform, they mean such reform as will enable the poor countryman to escape from his burden of debt and the tenant to be rid of his obligation to pay rent. They have not been half-hearted in their promises of what they will do for the people when they get the power. In Bengal and Orissa they promised the abolition of the permanent settlement. In the United Provinces they promised remission of arrears of debt. Over vast areas

they have pledged themselves to the remission of arrears of revenue and great reductions in, or total abolition of, land revenue. A Congress Socialist paper in Bombay regards the election results as a challenge to caste and the whole social Indian Hindu organization based upon caste.

"There are propagandists in Congress ranks [wrote the Liberal paper *The Leader*, of Allahabad, the other day] whose genius for inventing lies is unsurpassable. They believe that everything is fair in love and war and that the end justifies the means.

Far from educating the illiterate, they have been trying to exploit the credulity of the unsophisticated masses."

A Congress paper in Calcutta rejoices that most of the elected Members are ex-political prisoners. In contrast with this there is little doubt that the sweeping Congress victory in Bihar was mainly the effect of a quite touching appreciation of the personality of the Provincial Congress leader and past Indian National Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad—who is avowedly and loudly opposed to Socialism and against whom and whose party the trusting landlords of the Province therefore organized no particular opposition.

To the general landslide in favour of the Congress, the Punjab provides a shining example of understanding and vigorous Constitutionalism. The Punjabis have a marvellous faculty for rising above their Communal divisions when they have to deal with their public affairs. They have never patiently listened to the disruptive doctrines of the Congress Party during the past seventeen years. Perceiving the reality of the power given to the Provincial Ministries and Legislatures under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, they worked those reforms for all they were worth and by doing so made themselves the most progressive Province in India. In preparation for the inauguration of the new Constitution, their leaders organized a Unionist Party, the name of which sufficiently indicates its character, to assure a continuance and development of the progress made under the old Constitution. For this the Province has largely to thank the late Sir Fazl-i Husain, whose mantle has fallen upon the shoulders of a worthy successor in Sir Sikander Hayat Khan.

Seven of the Provinces have upper Houses and these, as far as their membership is settled, do not all appear of the same political complexion as the Assemblies in the same Provinces. The Muslims, if they satisfactorily combine, will have a majority and form the Ministry in Bengal. Their line in the Legislature of that Province has yet to be elucidated. In other Provinces, their influence in the new situation is also uncertain.

Throughout India, excluding the Punjab, the North West Frontier Province and Sind, where the Hindus form minorities,

the Congress leaders are now considering how to proceed. They are in considerable difficulty. Their simple means of wrecking the Constitution would be to make their representatives decline to take their places in the new Legislatures or to form Ministries. But this would leave out of account their promises to the mass of their supporters. The last great trouble between the Congress managers and its followers was when the latter, a few years ago, tired of wandering in the wilderness of non-co-operation, insisted upon the adoption of a constructive policy. The loaves and fishes of office are also hard to resist. The party have it in their power, in nearly every Province, either to form a Ministry without relying upon the votes of other parties or to do so with the assistance of other parties which they dominate. If they take office and honestly endeavour by legislative measures to carry out their election promises, the experience they gain will give them the finest possible practical political education and will, through them, educate their followers. The reserve powers of the Governors will only come into play after they have dealt with the considerable portion of their own party and the other parties whose ideals are different from the Communistic preachments of certain leaders, and there may arise out of the present apparent chaos a new spirit of co-operation, which will be all the better because of its natural growth, and a new understanding of the partnership between Great Britain and the people would be secured. But optimism along those lines is not justified by the position thus far developed, and the outlook will require the wisest and most courageous statesmanship on the part of the Provincial Governors and of the Government of India.

INDIA,

*March 2, 1937*

## RECENT FRENCH BOOKS

LE DROIT CHINOIS CONCEPTION ET ÉVOLUTION Institutions législatives et judiciaires Science et enseignement By Jean Escarra (Peking *Henri Vetch*) \$18

For a number of years M. Jean Escarra, legal adviser to the Chinese Government, has made a special study of Chinese Law. He has issued a number of books and contributed articles in different journals on the subject, of which a list is given in this new, handsome volume. This constant and intensive interest has allowed the author to produce a volume of immense importance on the present condition of the country's judicial administration and on its legislation. One may come to the conclusion that, on the whole, Chinese traditions and customs have remained intact, in spite of the numerous new regulations. The Government has not thrown the ancient culture overboard as the historical and cultural background demand an individual outlook.

The first part of the volume therefore gives an analysis of the fundamental conception of Chinese law dependent upon rites and ceremonies and upon the idea of reward and punishment.

The second portion deals with legislative institutions, prefaced by an historical review and followed by the various modern laws. The legislators had to bear in mind the demands of the Constitution and also the Three Principles of San Min Chu I. The third part is devoted to the organization of the judiciary and also to the prison system.

Considering the difficulty of his task, it is not surprising to find a valuable Bibliography of 50 pages in Chinese and in European languages bearing on Chinese Law and Custom. Footnotes abound throughout the work referring to the sources upon which M. Escarra has drawn. The printing also is very creditable; it has been executed by the *North China Daily News*.

RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES AU COL DE KHAIR KHANEH PRÈS DE KABUL

Par J. Hackin et J. Carl (Paris *Editions d'Art et d'Histoire*) 80 fr

This work, tome VII of the *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique française en Afghanistan*, forms a most worthy companion to the previous volumes on Bamyan and Hadda. The excavations near Kabul of 1934 have laid open a result very different from the earlier work. A temple has been discovered which shows a distinct religious as well as artistic Sassanid influence. In this temple were found a number of statues in white marble, the chief figure of which represents a solar God (on Plate XIV), a perfect masterpiece of art. It is fully described by M. Hackin. It is remarkable that the god's boots are very much like those still worn at the present time by the Uzbeks and the Turks. The figures show an art varying between the Greek and Indian ideals. Besides the statues, the chief objects found

were jars and lamps. The plates can only be described as being of the greatest excellence, they show the site, the three sanctuaries, the work of excavation, the statues, and some pieces of pottery. M. Carl has provided three plans of reconstruction of the sanctuary which should in their ancient form excite the admiration of the present-day architect.

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L'ANCIENNE CANALISATION D'EAU D'ALEP Par S. Mazloum (*Institut Français de Damas*)

The French Institute of Damascus has just added a capital new volume to the Documents d'Etudes Orientales dealing with the Ancient Canalization of Aleppo. Like the previous volumes in this series, the work of M. Mazloum displays the conscientious care of French Oriental scholarship. It is a happy sign of the times that sound research is making headway in the Near East. The learned author takes us back to the Greco-Roman period, when canalization took place or was resumed although Arab writers, such as Ibn Sina, maintain that it began under St. Helena, the mother of Constantine. We know, of course, that canalization existed in Babylon and Mohenjo-daro, and it is not unlikely that it was also known in Syria in the oldest times. M. Mazloum gives a short history of its development, and also an account of its distribution, its organization in town and country, as well as its legal system. The author has added different documents in Arabic and French showing what were the rights of the beneficiaries of legal disputes, with their judgments by the Sultan or his Kadis. These judgments as well as the lists of beneficiaries are given on separate plates. The maps tracing the canalization show the great care which the author has taken and the excellence of the printing done at Beirut.

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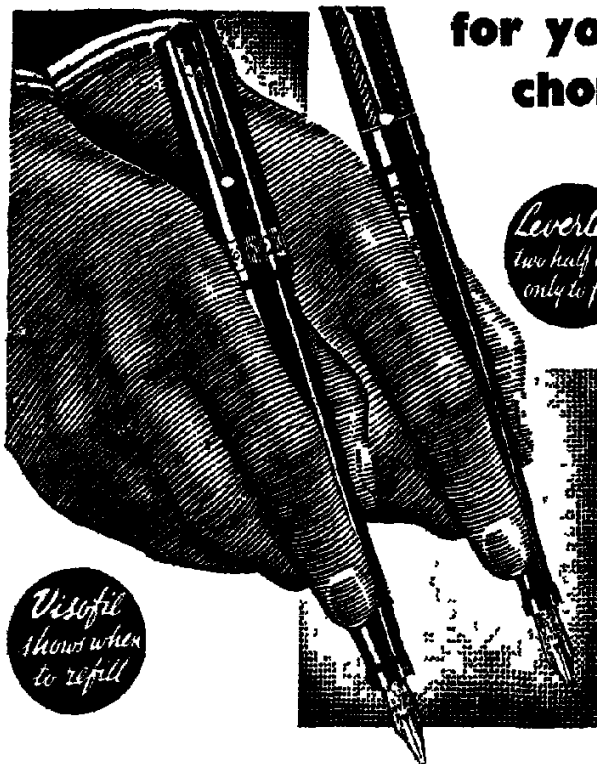
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